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## CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL	7
ASIAN SURVEY	8
Asia in Washington	David C. Williams 9
The Commonwealth in Evolution	Lord Birdwood 10
India and the Commonwealth	B. Krishna 11
The Colonial Development Corporation—The Next Step	Lord Ogmores 12
The India-Pakistan Air Dispute	Sir F. Tymms 15
Trade Kashmir for East Bengal	Michael Edwardes 17
Who are the Indonesians?	G. P. G. Thomson 18
Communalism and Racialism in Malayan Politics	S. A. E. Hogan-Shaidali 20
Australia and S.E. Asia	Melbourne Correspondent 22
Love Reform in China	Nicholas Read-Collins 23
LONDON NOTEBOOK	25
FROM ALL QUARTERS	26
BOOKS ON THE FAR EAST	28
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	30
The Confucian Classics	Lewis Gen 32
Gateway to Pakistan	Humphrey Bullock 35
Contemporary Asian Art	Shibdas Banerji 36
ECONOMIC SECTION	
Japan's Trade with Ceylon	Austin de Silva 38
Changes in Ceylon's Economy	K. G. Navaratne 39
Forces of Reaction in Starving Asia	Noel Newsome 40
Australia's New Oil Refinery	Special Correspondent 41
Burma's Purchases in the UK	43
Coal and Iron in Asia	47
Shipping Notes	50
The Port of Singapore	Special Correspondent 52

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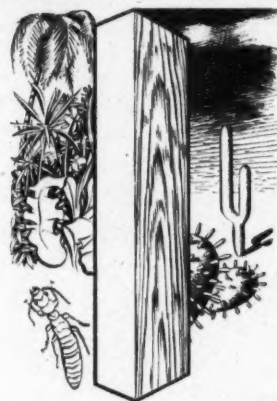
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# EASTERN WORLD

## INDIA AND PAKISTAN

THE meeting of the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan in New Delhi last month, and their joint communique of August 20th, was a big and momentous step towards the settlement of the Kashmir problem and towards a better understanding between the two sister nations. There is no doubt about the sincerity of the two statesmen and about their desire to put into effect a feasible framework for a closer collaboration between their respective governments.

After this auspicious beginning, it was rather disappointing to observe various developments which threaten to wreck the accord achieved by the two Prime Ministers. Thus it is a pity that the choice of the Plebiscite Administrator for Kashmir should prove such an obstacle. The essence of an administrator is that he should be acceptable to both sides, and if the American Admiral Niemiitz is *persona non grata* for this particular position in New Delhi, Karachi should drop his name quickly and suggest someone else. Equally, a personality proposed by India but not acceptable to Pakistan cannot be appointed to this office. Also disappointing have been various attacks in the Pakistan Press accusing India, quite wrongly, of "flouting decisions" made during the meeting of the Prime Ministers. Finally, and most staggering of all, came Pakistan's opposition to India's participation in the Far Eastern political conference. It is very regrettable that India, blocked by an US-led minority of the United Nations General Assembly, should have had to withdraw from her candidature for a seat at that conference. Her presence may have had a beneficial influence on its outcome, particularly as the conference might also discuss Indo-China. However, that Pakistan did not support India in this case proves either that Mr. Mohammed Ali's policy is either very flexible or is not fully shared by members of his team, or that US influence in Pakistan is even stronger than it is in Thailand and in the Philippines—countries which, in spite of their obligations to Washington—at least abstained from voting. This latest Pakistani move seems to confirm the view that she is now entering an extremely active American orientation which appears to be stronger even than her loyalty to the Arab world—she voted against the Arab-Asian group—and certainly stronger than her feelings for an *entente* in South-East Asia based on intimate collaboration with India.

It is difficult to see what Pakistan has to gain by any other policy than the one so hopefully foreshadowed by the Prime Ministers' Communique.

## CONCEPTS OF SOCIALISM

THE meeting of the Bureau of Asian Socialists in Hyderabad last month had fully discussed a number of important subjects, which included a Far Eastern settlement, the Japanese peace treaty, and the admission of China to the UN. Undoubtedly, these discussions were very useful but the impact of the meeting as a whole was quite nebulous. About eight months have passed since the conference in Rangoon, and there has been little outward sign of the dynamism which the delegates there agreed that Asian Socialism must show if it was to capture the imagination of the people of Asia. And nothing has been done to resolve the problem of what the exact role of democratic Socialism in Asia is. The Rangoon conference itself was not at all certain that Socialism of the European kind had much to offer in Asia—a factor that influenced the setting up of an Asian Socialist organisation quite separate from the Socialist International—and yet contact between Socialists of east and west is considered essential if Asian Socialism is not to wither away or to drop off and grow up as something quite different from democratic Socialism. Western Socialists have long considered it a danger to world Socialism that such a possibility existed. Asians, on the other hand, have not looked on such an eventuality as being so disastrous. Since the failure of Mr. Attlee in January to get the Rangoon conference to refrain from setting up a separate organisation, western Socialists have tried to bring it home to their colleagues in the East that an international democratic Socialist front is the only effective answer to the further spread of Communism. The recent meeting in Stockholm between the Socialist International and representatives from Asia carried the question of an all-inclusive International very little further. No amount of platitudes could conceal the fact that there is a considerable difference between the European and Asian conception of the theory and practice of Socialism.

By far the most successful contact and understanding can be obtained at the lower levels, and the British Labour Party has taken the initiative in this respect by launching the British Asian Socialist Fellowship, which is to arrange conferences and meetings of common interest to Asians and Britons. But even here the ordinary British Labour Party member will find his Asian counterpart has a different outlook, and he may well discover that the Asian's ideology does not only owe a great deal to Marx and Engels, but also to Lenin. Therein is the cause and effect, as it were, of a dilemma: how best can Asian Socialists apply the principles of a European-conceived peaceful, tolerant and democratic social revolution to the situation in Asia where success is judged by quick results, and where constitutional and parliamentary practices are, except to relatively few, meaningless terms? No amount of contact or exchange of information with European Socialists will provide the answer.



# ASIAN SURVEY

## INDONESIA

Dr. Wongsonegoro succeeded in forming a new Cabinet at the end of July with himself as one of the Deputy Prime Ministers to Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, the Prime Minister. The new Prime Minister was, until his appointment as Premier, Indonesian Ambassador in the United States. The new Cabinet does not include the Masjumi (Muslim) party, which has stated that it will be a "loyal opposition." The Catholic, and Christian parties and the Democratic elements will, they say, give "reasonable support" to the new Government.

Dr. Sunarjo, the recently appointed Foreign Minister, has said that he wants to see a more independent foreign policy for the country, with emphasis on closer cooperation with other Asian, Arab and North African countries. He said he was adamant about the return of West New Guinea to the Indonesian Republic, and wished to see a peace treaty concluded with Japan, but not on the lines of the one the Americans have signed. He had arranged, also, for an Ambassador to be installed in Peking.

## THAILAND

At a meeting of the Council of Ministers it was decided that a campaign should be put into effect to get the people to understand more fully the principles of democratic government. It was felt that, on the whole, there was a widespread lack of knowledge on that matter in Thailand.

Reports from Bangkok say that the Foreign Minister had asked the United States to supply more arms to deal with an offensive that the Communists were expected to launch this autumn.

## INDO-CHINA (VIET MINH)

The recent behaviour of the King of Cambodia is interpreted by the Viet Minh as having nothing to do with a desire for the independence of

the Cambodian people. Since the King's trip to the United States, say the Viet Minh, he is interested only in getting rid of French influence to replace it with American. Because the American military men saw the eventual defeat of the French in Indo-China, they were securing Cambodia as a means of bringing pressure to bear in case the French opened peace negotiations with Ho Chi Minh.

## KASHMIR

Last month Sheikh Abdullah, the Prime Minister, was dismissed and replaced by Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad. Although the suddenness of the move caused surprise, it was not entirely unexpected. Sheikh Abdullah for some time had been advocating a policy which tended to move Kashmir away from India, and even to entertain ideas of independence. The change of Prime Ministers did not go off as smoothly as it was first thought, and there were some demonstrations by crowds carrying pro-Pakistan placards. Indian troops opened fire on some demonstrators. India claimed to have taken no part in the change-over, and Mr. Nehru said in Delhi that Indian advice was "neither sought nor given."

Some days after the incident Mr. Mohammad Ali, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, flew to Delhi to discuss the Kashmir situation with Mr. Nehru. Mohammad Ali was given a warm reception in the Indian Parliament, where he heard Mr. Nehru say that India was "anxious to settle every problem that has unfortunately embittered relations between the two countries in a peaceful way." Even before the discussions between the two Premiers had been concluded there was talk of agreement to appoint an administrator to organise a plebiscite.

## BURMA

When the Finance Minister presented his Budget last month he said that the deficit of £28½ million "was not a deficit in the ordinary sense, but a real investment for posterity and better standards of living." He said that there was no necessity for foreign bor-

rowing because improved conditions and production would enable Burma to meet the deficit wholly from reserves.

## JAPAN

An interesting espionage case has been going on before the Judiciary Committee of the Lower House of Parliament. A certain Masao Mitsuhashi, a wireless operator who had recently been sentenced to imprisonment for espionage, said that a man called Kaji had been acting as courier for a Soviet spy, but Kaji had also been seen to drive away in a Chevrolet car with a man who was recognised as a leading official of the American counter-intelligence. Mitsuhashi himself was interrogated by the Americans. Kaji told the committee that he appeared before them "to have a showdown with American imperialism." Kaji said that the most important aspect of the case was United States espionage in Japan, and the Press were officially told that the case should be handled with care because of its connection with US and Soviet activities. Another young witness said that on his arrival in Japan from Manchuria, American officers had forced him "at pistol point to spy for them." This witness, Itagaki, said that an American organisation, known as the "Canon Organ," had taken part in smuggling as well as spying. He then gave details of the "organ" run by an American officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Canon, and how it was financed by the United States Central Intelligence Agency under the director-generalship of Mr. Allan Dulles, brother of the US Secretary of State. The witness said he had not given information before because he was frightened that he would be "eliminated by the Americans."

The director of the Japan-China Trade Promotion Council said last month that Japan would lose the China market to Britain and western Europe unless steps were taken quickly to promote trade between Japan and China over and above the restrictions imposed by the US.



# ASIA IN WASHINGTON

By David C. Williams (*Washington, U.S.A.*)

IF, as most Americans hope, the Korean truce develops into a more or less lasting peace, the rehabilitation and reconstruction of South Korea becomes a task of the utmost importance. Washington observers point out that, at the very least, the free nations have a duty to a people whose country has been repeatedly devastated as the armies of many nations have moved back and forth over it. Likewise, success in rebuilding South Korea and making it a showpiece of political and economic democracy could make a tremendous impression upon the people of North Korea, and pave the way for the peaceful reunification of the country.

The difficulties ahead are formidable. First of all, there is the sheer physical destruction of the nation's cities and industries, which has attained a degree of thoroughness perhaps unequalled in the history of warfare. Second, there is the legacy of hatred, fear, and dissension inevitably left by a contest which, to a substantial extent, was a civil war. Last, but by no means least, there is Syngman Rhee himself, regarded by many in Korea and the United States as the saviour and foremost patriot of his country, but by others as an elderly and stubborn tyrant, who would rather see his people in misery than yield any part of his power.

The United Nations has been aware of economic as well as military needs. UNKRRRA, the UN agency established to deal with Korean reconstruction, has realised the need to plan this task as carefully as the various military campaigns have been planned. For guidance it has called upon a practitioner of America's newest profession—that of consulting economist.

Robert R. Nathan Associates, the team of consulting economists upon whom the UN called for a plan of Korean reconstruction, is, as the name implies, a creation of Robert R. Nathan. Mr. Nathan, a brilliant economist, rose high in the American government while still a very young man. He was one of the officials chiefly responsible for America's successful economic mobilisation in World War II. After the war he left government service and set up his own office, staffing it with other young government economists of proven ability.

In addition to providing economic advice to American businessmen and trade unions, Robert R. Nathan Associates has from its beginning given advice and counsel to foreign nations. Israel was one of its earliest clients, but its attention in recent year has shifted more and more to Asia. For some while now members of the Nathan firm have worked with the Burmese government in making its plans for economic and social development, establishing a sound system of taxation, creating effective government services, and the like. Some of its ablest young men are

stationed in Rangoon, the Burmese capital, and are working closely with the officials of this newly independent nation.

In addition to work in Burma itself, Mr. Nathan's firm carries on applied research in economic history designed to shed light upon Burma's present and possible future problems. For instance, it has been reviewing Sweden's economic development. That nation, largely agricultural until the closing years of the 19th century, has made the transition to a highly industrialised economy in half a century. Since this is a transition which the Burmese also hope to achieve, the economic history of Sweden may provide useful pointers as to the rate of development and the problems which lie ahead.

In the case of Korea much more than dollars is involved. Aid from outside, however generous, is not enough. The Koreans must be trained so as to make their own efforts, supplemented by outside aid, more effective. The long Japanese occupation has, on the positive side, left a legacy of literacy and of a considerable number of people with industrial and the lower degrees of administrative skills. But professional people and administrators in the higher ranks are still scarce, because in these areas the Japanese prevailed. Therefore, people with the natural ability must be found, and carefully trained so as to put their abilities to effective use.

The "Nathan" plan for Korea can only provide the guideposts. Much will depend upon the continuing interest of the free peoples, and particularly of the United States, in Korea. Fortunately, the lesson that winning the peace is as essential as winning the war has been well learned in World Wars I and II. In spite of the strong inclination of the present Congress towards economy, particularly in overseas expenditures, the Eisenhower Administration has made it clear that aid to Korea enjoys a very high, perhaps the highest, priority.

It is to be hoped that the aid which the free nations will provide will be matched by an earnest effort on the part of the South Korean Government to cooperate in its effective use. So far, that government has been characterised by corruption and favouritism at many levels. The elaborate economic controls which exist have been used in too many cases to reward political friends and punish enemies.

Fortunately, the events of the past few months appear to have led to a more realistic evaluation of Syngman Rhee and his government by Washington officials. More firmness in dealing with this stubborn elder statesman can yield much greater dividends for the South Korean people, in terms first of reconstruction, then of a steady economic development with rising standards of living.

# THE COMMONWEALTH IN EVOLUTION

*By Lord Birdwood*

**F**EW would have guessed on August 15th, 1947, when two new nations joined the family of Empire and Commonwealth in equal partnership, that six years later their representatives would be fulfilling exacting functions in assisting to solve the most difficult of international problems. Today an Indian supervises the arrangements to be made for staging elections in the Sudan in October, while a Pakistani heads the Commission of five which is to advise the Governor-General during the next three years.

We know little of the manner in which the two appointments were made. For our part we welcomed the intervention of two men who, while obviously being in sympathy with Egypt on the broad issue of alleged Western encroachment, would at the same time have a real appreciation of the honesty of British motive and intention. Within three years the Sudan will be faced by a choice not unlike that which faced India and Pakistan in 1947. There is the choice of a formal relationship with Egypt. There is the choice of complete independence; and there is finally the implied choice of a further move to be associated with the British Commonwealth, if so desired, after the choice of independence has been taken.

When the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan recently passed through Cairo on their return from the Coronation, General Neguib made natural and determined efforts to enlist their active sympathy in the perennial issue between Great Britain and Egypt concerning the Suez Canal; while in the case of India it is fair to deduce that Pandit Nehru was approached with a view to his influence being exerted in favour of Egypt in regard to certain developments in the Sudanese election arrangements which Egypt interpreted as hostile to her interests. The able and incorruptible Mr. Sukumar Sen came to the Sudan with the experience of having organised the largest political election in the world; and it was clear that where he had served the Government of India with such a high sense of duty and integrity, Mr. Nehru was not disposed to interfere in his administration of a similar much smaller task in the Sudan.

It is too soon to say ~~yet whether~~ the Sudan will work out its destiny in a smooth process of adjustment or whether mutual suspicions as between Egyptians, British and Sudanese will create administrative and political havoc. But we can at least be certain that a comparatively unknown policy of Indian and Pakistani participation in problems of this nature promises the most likely premises for success. Could the process not be extended?

In this twentieth century when nations have moved forward to an awareness of their mutual interdependence, time and again the problem of a minority has been prominent to prevent harmony. Slovenes in Trieste, Moslems in Eritrea, Jews in Baghdad, can all be regarded

as manifestations of a familiar situation, the greater example being the final partition of the sub-Continent of India as the result of pressure by a frustrated Moslem minority. It might seem a heresy again to quote the case of the Sudan which is a condominium under the Foreign Office: and yet if we were really capable of applying the lesson of the Indian sub-Continent how logical it would be if the Sudan could be partitioned now, as between pagan Nubian South and Moslem Arab North.

Alas! it is too late for such wisdom to prevail. But there are other countries with similar problems to be faced where the new diplomacy of India, Pakistan or Ceylon might be welcome. In the international field we have seen the part that India can play; and if we are ever to reach an understanding with Communist China it will almost certainly be through Indian mediation.

Of more significance for the British Commonwealth are those purely domestic matters which so constantly confound the most sincere endeavours of the British Colonial Office. The case of Nigeria immediately suggests itself. A large Moslem population in the North enjoying conditions of effective tribal authority dislikes the prospect of subordination to the more sophisticated regions in the south, namely the Eastern Province under the political influence of the National Council and the Western Province under the organisation known as "Action Group." Here surely is just such a situation where Pakistan's diplomacy could usefully be placed at our disposal. The criticism has been made that while Pakistan and India are ready enough to join in the familiar chorus of international condemnation which is so often directed against British colonial policy, they have shown little active interest in the very practical measures which the British Government from time to time initiate in the interests of colonial territories. It is for those countries to accept such opportunities as present themselves to refute the charge. The old accusation of an oppressive Imperialism refusing to part with power must lose its sting if we can unreservedly place ourselves in the hands of a mediator who has so recently itself been through the experience of passing from a form of colonialism to full nationhood, and it is just this role which Pakistan would seem capable of filling in the case of Nigeria.

One day this strange structure, the British Commonwealth, must find its fulfilment in a partnership of some sixteen or seventeen members, independent, interdependent, bound together only by that last transcendent symbol, the Crown. If this be true, then within the next twenty years the opportunities for those members of the family which cannot be regarded as of Anglo-Saxon origin to smooth out many an awkward situation during transition will be many and varied.

# INDIA AND THE COMMONWEALTH

By B. Krishna (Bombay)

A FEW years ago Pandit Nehru remarked that Indo-British friendship, growing year by year since the transfer of power in 1947, had become "enduring." The truth of that remark found ample confirmation early last year when he addressed Queen Elizabeth on her accession to the Throne: "May I also welcome Your Majesty as the new head of the Commonwealth."

Pandit Nehru did not refer to Her Majesty as the Queen of the "British Dominions Beyond the Seas." This was in accordance with the agreement reached at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in April, 1949, to admit India into the Commonwealth brotherhood as a Republic; and India's decision to accept the King of England as "the symbol of the free association of its independent member nations and, as such, the head of the Commonwealth."

To many India's attitude appeared mystifying. Did a "revolutionary" leadership of the Indian National Congress stage a somersault? A close examination of the mind of the party leaders proves the contrary. It is true that the Congress turned into a "revolutionary" mass movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi in 1919. Yet Gandhi himself was the one person who sincerely believed in, and who strove for, the maintenance and strengthening of the Commonwealth bond by consistently opposing those who advocated India's severance of the British connection. No doubt he fought for his country's freedom for nearly three decades; but he always claimed to be "a true friend of the British people." C. F. Andrews testified that he was Britain's "greatest asset against the real danger facing India . . . namely, individual terrorism leading to mass violence."

It is, again, equally true that under Gandhi's lead the Congress in 1921 took the path of non-cooperation and altered the first article of its constitution from "the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire" to "the attainment of *Swarajya* by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means." And the Mahatma, who had himself taught many of his co-workers "God save the King," also admitted to have become "an uncompromising disaffectionist and non-cooperator" from an erstwhile "staunch loyalist and co-operator." In this respect he was profoundly influenced by the unfortunate happenings at Amritsar, in the Punjab, in 1919. Yet, Gandhi did not lose faith in the ideal of Commonwealth unity, provided the partnership was absolutely equal and free.

In spite of the Jallianwalla Bagh tragedy at Amritsar, it was he who persuaded his countrymen to agree to work

the new constitution under the Act of 1919; and at the time of launching the Non-Cooperative Movement in 1921 he wrote: "Our non cooperation is neither with the English nor with the West. Our non-cooperation is with the system the English have established. . . . Our non-cooperation is a refusal to cooperate with the English administrators on their own terms. We say to them, 'Come and cooperate with us on our terms, and it will be well for us, for you and the world.'" Thus, Gandhi's fight against the British was not for the severance of the connection, but for the liberation of his countrymen from foreign domination.

Like Tilak, Gandhi considered freedom his countrymen's birthright. But he always countered any suggestion for complete severance of the British connection; and he gave expression to his views on a number of occasions. In his presidential address at the Congress Session in 1924, he told Congressmen in unequivocal terms that his *Swaraj* scheme presupposed "the retention of the British connection on perfectly honourable and absolutely equal terms," and that in his opinion "if the British Government mean what they say and honestly help us to equality, it would be a greater triumph than a complete severance of the British connection. I would, therefore, strive for *Swaraj* within the Empire, but would not hesitate to sever all connection if severance became a necessity through Britain's own fault."

The appointment of the Simon Commission in 1927, with no Indian representative on it, helped the extremists to whip up anti-British feeling and they raised the issue of the British connection the same year at the Madras Congress in December. But Gandhi used his restraining influence and effected a compromise between the extremists and the moderates under which *Swaraj* became "the ultimate goal" of the Congress. This, however, did not satisfy the former and at the Lahore Congress in 1929 the controversy was again revived. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose moved a resolution on "full independence," implying complete severance of the British connection. But it was defeated primarily because it did not have the backing of the Mahatma, who thought that it suggested the establishment of a "parallel Government" in India. Instead, he gave his support to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's resolution on Complete Independence, which to him meant an equal and independent status within the Commonwealth. But at the same time he warned Congressmen: "The step suggested by the Working Committee is the longest step that we can take today; a step further and it lands you in a pitfall."

As a protest against the Simon Commission's recommendations Gandhi had to lead a countrywide Civil Disobedience Movement. But his views on a new Common-



wealth remained unaffected. He told a Press Conference of Indian and foreign journalists on March 6th, 1931: "*Swaraj* means disciplined rule from within. *Puran* means complete. Not finding any equivalent (of *Puran Swaraj*), we have loosely adopted the word 'Complete Independence,' which everybody understands. *Puran Swaraj* does not exclude association with any nation, much less with England. But it can only mean association for mutual benefit, and at will." Later, at the Round Table Conference in London, he unequivocally stated: "If we are intent upon Complete Independence, it is not from any sense of arrogance; it is not because we want to parade before the universe that we have now severed all connection with the British people. Nothing of the kind. On the contrary . . . the Congress contemplates a partnership—the Congress contemplates a connection with the British people—but that connection to be such as can exist between two absolute equals. Time was when I prided myself on being, and being called, a British subject. I have ceased for many years to call myself a British subject; I would far rather be called a rebel than a subject. But I have aspired—I still aspire—to be a citizen, not in the Empire, but in a Commonwealth; in a partnership if possible—if God wills it, an indissoluble partnership—but not a partnership superimposed upon one nation by another."

In 1942, after the failure of the Cripps Mission, Gandhi

framed his "Quit India" resolution. The idea, he told Louis Fischer, arose "from the crushed hope that had been pretty high in our minds." But later he explained that he had "not approached the present task in any spirit of enmity to Great Britain and the West. After having imbibed and assimilated the message of *Unto This Last* (Ruskin), I could not be guilty of approving of Fascism or Nazism, whose cult is suppression of the individual and his liberty. . . . For the sake of Great Britain and the Allied cause, it was necessary for Britain boldly to perform the duty of freeing India from bondage. By that supreme act of justice Britain would have taken away all cause for the seething discontent in India. She will turn the growing ill-will into active goodwill."

The transference of power by Britain to India in 1947 was a step in that direction. But equally important was India's decision in 1949 to stay in the Commonwealth. This was truly Gandhian. Speaking in the Indian Parliament, Pandit Nehru said: "I had a feeling when I was considering this matter in London and later that I had done something that would have met with the approval of Gandhi." Pandit Nehru also repeated, perhaps unconsciously, the same sentiments which Mahatma Gandhi had expressed in 1921 when he said that the new type of association with the Commonwealth "will be good for us, good for them, and, I think, good for the world."

## THE COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION—THE NEXT STEP

By Lord Ogmore

READERS of Jane Austen will remember that, at one stage in *Pride and Prejudice*, Mr. Bingley is proposing to give a dance at his house, a proposal to which his sister objects, for reasons of her own.

"I should like balls infinitely better," she says, "if they were carried on in a different manner; but there is something insufferably tedious in the usual process of such a meeting. It would surely be much more rational if conversation instead of dancing were made the order of the day."

"Much more rational, my dear Caroline, I dare say," replies her brother, "but it would not be near so much like a ball."

Readers of *EASTERN WORLD* will remember that in the February, 1953, issue, in an article entitled "What of the Colonial Development Corporation?" I suggested, in effect, that the Government were treating the Colonial Development Corporation with pride and prejudice and that as things were going it would soon not be near so much like a development corporation.

It may be recalled that in my article I proposed that what is required was first to relieve the Corporation from the burden of capital advances in respect of undertakings which were deemed to be dead. In the accounts for the previous year this sum was shown as an accumulated figure

of £6 million. I proposed that the Corporation should be permitted to continue without this debt incurred for moribund ventures clinging to their shoulders like the old man of the sea clung to the unfortunate Sinbad. The second proposal I made referred to speculative projects, namely those which had probably not been tried before in the area chosen or if attempted had not been tried in the way proposed. I gave as an example the cultivation of rice by mechanical means in North Borneo. I suggested that it was vital that such projects should be undertaken but that it was unfair to expect the Colonial Development Corporation not only to undertake them but also to bear the financial burden of so doing around their necks probably for many years, possibly for ever. I proposed that in such cases the finance should be found by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, by Colonial Governments, municipal authorities, Marketing Boards and so forth, and that the Colonial Development Corporation should act as agents carrying out the work and supplying the necessary skill, "know-how," equipment, technical assistance and organisation.

I had, previously, initiated a debate on the subject in the House of Lords and there, on May 28th, 1952, I had

made substantially the same points. In reply, the Earl of Munster, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, said: "We have very sympathetically considered these arguments but it has been decided that in fact no real purpose would be served by writing off capital losses now. . . . We think that to write off past capital losses would not affect the Corporation's ability to achieve its task, although it would undoubtedly make the balance sheet look distinctly better."

Lord Munster did not deal specifically with the agency suggestion but said that "investigation as such should be undertaken by the Corporation only if there is some genuine prospect of its being economically worth while and coming within its field of likely operations. Investigation which is purely experimental and non-commercial in character is more properly the function of Government." In border line cases he suggested joint financing between Government and Colonial Development Corporation of suitable schemes.

In their Report and Accounts for 1952 the Colonial Development Corporation returned to the charge and wrote:

"5(2b) Capital sums (on projects agreed to be abandoned) have still to be repaid.

2(c) Corporation hopes that these capital sums can be written off as would seem logical and equitable."

Since the date of publication of this article, I am glad to say, the Government have had a change of heart and in a recent speech in the House of Lords, that is to say on July 30th last, Lord Munster made an important statement. He said:

"Many noble Lords asked me questions concerning the writing off of capital losses on those projects which have now been abandoned. I told the House last year that we were prepared to relieve the Corporation of liability from interest in respect of capital advances which could properly be regarded as dead. Since then a further undertaking has been given to the Corporation that Her Majesty's Government intend to introduce legislation to permit the writing off of capital losses on schemes which can properly be deemed to have been abandoned. We hope that this legislation will be introduced early next Session."

This is a handsome concession on the Government's part and meets the first suggestion I made in my EASTERN WORLD article. The second suggestion, the financing of certain projects by using the Colonial Development Corporation as agents, Lord Munster, in the same speech, touched on in this way. He said:

"I do not deny that there may be cases where the finance of the Corporation and the finance of the local Government may be, and probably are, complementary to one another and in that connection my right honourable friend, shortly after his appointment, circulated Colonial Governments and suggested that they should consider the possibility of making a special effort to finance investigations which held the prospect of substantial long term benefit. He asked all Colonial Governments to consider very closely in consultation with the Corporation and local representatives the possibilities of financing investigations which the Corporation itself was unable to undertake without assistance."

I think it is clear enough that the Government have come some way to fall in with my second suggestion, but

how far it will be acted upon in Colonial territories is a matter for conjecture.

In the Report and Accounts of the Corporation for 1952, the Corporation wrote:

"4(2b) Associates have not in general been willing to take more than a token financial participation.

(c) Reluctance to invest scarce funds in the kind of risks which Corporation normally undertakes is understood.

4 (3) Colonial Governments are substantial financial partners in some projects; in general they have been helpful."

So much for partnership but the report is silent on my suggestion for agency. In fact they make another alternative suggestion. They say:

"7(2a) New projects must be taken up only on a strictly commercial basis, and this will mean, as already stated and as Corporation's constitution and financial arrangements now stand, virtual exclusion of some types of desirable development. . . .

(3) Application of a commercial criterion to the Corporation's general funds is salutary; efficient managements may lose heart if they see their hard won profits swamped by losses on welfare projects."

And then they make their suggestion:

"(4) Corporation however suggests, to to an extent approved, it should be able to finance projects that are of great value but unlikely to be profitable; that such investments should be separately recorded in the accounts; and their results judged on other than a profit basis."

In the debate Lord Munster referred to this suggestion. He said that the request made by the Secretary of State to Colonial Governments to which I have already referred was

"the more appropriate way of using the taxpayers' money than the suggestion . . . that it (the Corporation) should have funds set aside for investigations which would be accounted for outside the normal accounts of the Corporation."

I think the Corporation were ill-advised not to go full out in support of my agency proposal rather than to put up a suggestion for a special fund separately recorded and its results judged on other than a profit basis. This was bound to arouse the hostility of the Colonial Office and the Treasury and has little to commend it. In my suggestion the Colonial Development Corporation would be held, so far as their work was concerned, strictly accountable on a commercial basis and the people who decided whether and to what extent a project of a long term nature such as we are discussing was worth while would not be the Colonial Development Corporation but the Colonial Office, a Federal Government, a Colonial Government, a Municipality or a Marketing Board, as the case might be, depending upon who authorised the project and paid for the work to be done, using the Colonial Development Corporation as agents.

Let us hope that the United Kingdom Government, having gone so far to meet the suggestions made to them, will go this little way further and use and recommend in clear terms the use of the Colonial Development Corporation as agents so as to give them the opportunity of playing a full and enlightened part in the development of more than forty colonial territories.

# THE INDIA-PAKISTAN AIR DISPUTE

*By Sir Frederick Tymms  
(United Kingdom Representative on the Council of ICAO)*

**T**HE settlement, by agreement, of the dispute brought before the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organisation concerning the prohibited areas established by Pakistan along her western frontiers affords a gratifying example of mutual understanding and willingness to cooperate by the two parties and an interesting sidelight on the part that international organisations can play in bringing about such settlements.

## *An Old Problem*

The substance of the complaint revealed an old problem in a new guise. It is true that the existence of an area prohibited to the flight of civil aircraft along virtually the whole of the western frontiers of Pakistan effectively prevented air communication by any but a circuitous route between the Indian sub-continent and the bordering countries of Afghanistan and Iran to the west. While united India had the responsibilities of administration which caused the creation of the prohibited areas, it also had the power to modify them in accordance with changing conditions and the growing need (which it was the first to feel) of air communication with its neighbours. With the partition of India

and Pakistan, the responsibilities of administration and the power to adjust passed from India, but not the growing need for air communications with the west and north-west.

## *Development of the Prohibited Areas*

Prohibited areas for civil aircraft in the North West Frontier Province had been established by the Government of India as early as 1914, before even the first World War was foreseen and before the first international convention on civil aviation. Both the 1919 Paris Convention and the 1944 Chicago Convention reserved to Contracting States the right to prohibit the flight of (civil) aircraft over particular areas of their territories, subject to certain conditions. Both were substantially the same. Both enjoined a measure of equality of treatment for national aircraft and aircraft of other Contracting States—"private" aircraft of 1919 being the equivalent of "civil" aircraft of 1944—both excluding State aircraft.

The development of the prohibited areas in what was the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan reveals early unfamiliarity with the real nature and powers of aircraft in flight, the impact of two wars and the influence of two international Conventions. The first prohibited area declared in January, 1914, apart from some isolated areas a few miles in diameter, such as all administrations later learned were quite ineffective, covered a zone five miles in width along the administrative border in the North West Frontier Province. It thus barred access to what were then known as the tribal territories. After a period of total prohibition of flight over India during the war, the prohibited areas were extended in 1920, in the light of the provisions of the Paris Convention, to include all territory trans-Indus, thus covering the North West Frontier Province, Baluchistan and a large part of Sind, with the exception of three corridors—along the Mekran coast (roughly Karachi to the Persian border), to Quetta and to Peshawar. The motives for the prohibition of flight over such an extensive area, some 1,000 miles in length and up to three or four hundred miles in depth, were a combination of military security, orderly administration of a spasmodically turbulent territory and the safety of civil aircraft and their occupants. Periodic changes modified the prohibition until, in 1933, the prohibited area became stabilised, covering the whole of the North West Frontier Province and the Political Agencies (tribal territories) and a narrow frontier zone extending through Baluchistan to the coastal corridor on the Arabian Sea. So it remained until, in 1947, a corridor was again opened to Peshawar but not extending so far as the Afghan frontier.

From 1928 onwards there had been the intention, from time to time, to open corridors through the prohibited area to enable commercial air services to be operated between India and Afghanistan, but financial and other obstacles prevented the development. Prior to partition in 1947, arrangements between India and Afghanistan had progressed far, and in the light of the new obligations undertaken by India at Chicago, it became the established policy of the Government of India to modify the prohibited area by the provision of corridors through Peshawar and Quetta. Other events intervened and the changes were not made.

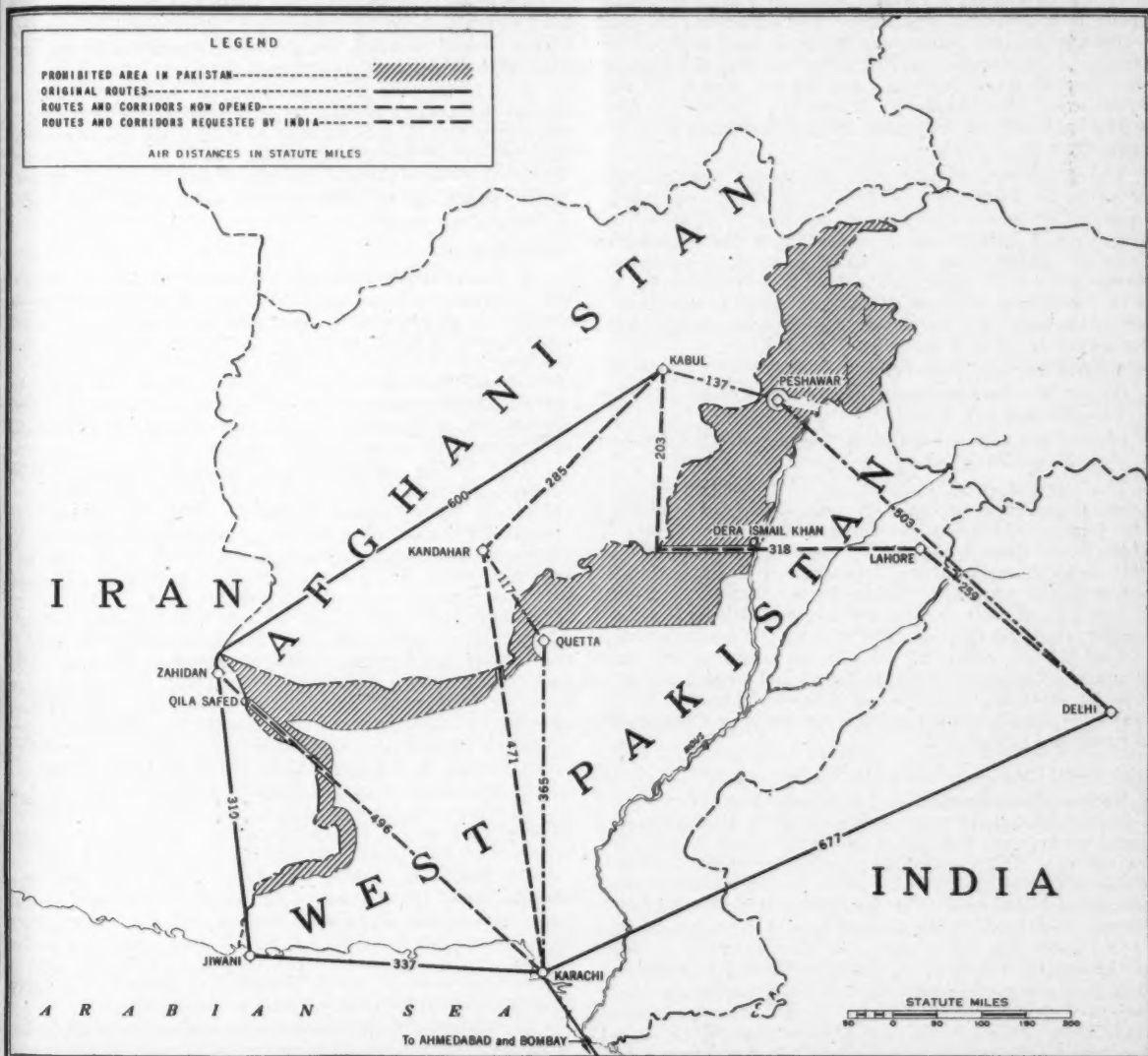
The important point about the historical record, which had a considerable influence on the ultimate settlement, is that Pakistan had inherited the prohibited area and had found no reason to



*Sir Frederick Tymms, K.C.I.E., M.C., F.R.Ae.S.*



# AIR ROUTES BETWEEN INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN



modify the policy underlying their declaration, but that it had already been recognised that developments in civil aviation and changes in the nature of flight would necessitate and justify some modification of the areas.

The effect of the prohibited areas on air communications between Delhi and Kabul was to increase the length of the route from 640 miles by the direct route over Peshawar and the Khyber Pass, to 1,930 miles via Karachi—the coastal corridor—Jiwani—Zahidan and Kandahar. From Bombay, the route via Karachi, Jiwani and Zahidan was 1,800 miles compared with 1,320 miles via Karachi, Qetta and Kandahar.

## India's Complaint

In April, 1952, the Government of India reported to the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organisation that a disagreement had arisen between India and Pakistan relating to

the interpretation and application of the provisions of the Convention on International Civil Aviation and of the International Air Services Transit Agreement (Chicago, 1944), and they complained that the action of Pakistan was causing hardship and injustice to India.

Article 5 of the Convention grants to aircraft of Contracting States, other than those engaged in scheduled international air services, the right, without prior permission, to fly without landing across the territory of other Contracting States and the right to land for non-traffic purposes. Article 6 of the Convention prohibits the operation of scheduled international air services over or into the territory of other Contracting States without special permission or other authorisation, while the Transit Agreement grants to the scheduled international air services of one party the privilege of flying across the territory of another without landing and the privilege of landing for non-traffic purposes. The Council

of ICAO had previously ruled, in response to a request of Pakistan, that the privileges granted by the Transit Agreement were not nullified by Article 6 of the Convention; and, although the original complaint of India alleged the withholding of these privileges by Pakistan, action was already in train to permit the operation of an Indian scheduled air service and the flight of Indian aircraft across Pakistan along a route outside the prohibited areas. The complaint before the Council therefore resolved itself into one concerning the prohibited area along the western frontiers of Pakistan.

The Government of India asked the Council, particularly, to declare that the prohibited area in West Pakistan was not reasonable either in extent or in location and that it interfered unnecessarily with international air navigation; to find that Indian aircraft are entitled to operate scheduled international air services between India and Afghanistan across West Pakistan by the shortest practicable air route; and to recommend to the Government of Pakistan not to impede the operation of scheduled international air services by Indian aircraft—

- (a) over the route Delhi-Peshawar-Kabul;
- (b) over the route Bombay (Ahmedabad)—Karachi—Zahidan—Kandahar—Kabul;
- (c) over any other commercially feasible route (i.e. between India and Afghanistan).

The Convention on International Civil Aviation provides that any disagreement relating to the interpretation or application of the Convention which cannot be settled by negotiation may be decided by the Council and that the Assembly shall suspend the voting power of a contracting State found in default. The Air Services Transit Agreement provides for the Council to examine the situation and make findings and recommendations if a Contracting State alleges that the action of another is causing injustice or hardship to it. India and Pakistan are parties to both these instruments as successor States to (united) India which, independently in 1944, had played a not inconsiderable part in the evolution of the Convention and the Agreement at Chicago and had signed and ratified both.

#### Action by ICAO

No case of disagreement had previously been submitted to the Council for decision under Article 84 of the Convention and no rules for the consideration and settlement of such disputes had been adopted. The Convention provides for appeal against a decision of Council under Article 84 to the Permanent Court of International Justice or to an *ad hoc* arbitral tribunal. While the rules were in preparation the Council decided to proceed by way of consultation with the parties. The Government of Pakistan was requested to submit its comments on the Indian complaint, and a small group of Council Representatives, under the chairmanship of Brigadier S. Booth, the Council Representative of Canada and a member of the Legal Committee of ICAO, was set up to consult with representatives of the two Governments con-

cerned on the steps to be taken for further examination of the case and, later, on the substance of the matter. The High Commissioners of India and Pakistan at Ottawa were appointed by their governments to represent them; they attended all meetings of the Council at which the procedure was discussed and met with the working group to discuss the case.

In the meantime the Government of Afghanistan had requested the Council to take action to remove the impediments which prevented the establishment of more direct air communications between Afghanistan and India. At the request of Council the Government of Afghanistan agreed that the action initiated by the Council on the request of India would cover the substance of their case.

#### The Settlement

In August the Government of Pakistan notified the Council that a corridor had been opened through the prohibited area on the direct route Karachi—Zahidan, thus somewhat shortening the route through Karachi to Afghanistan via Iranian territory and incidentally removing one of India's complaints that, contrary to the Convention, Pakistan had permitted an Iranian air service to operate over this route while denying the right to India. The Government of Pakistan also offered to discuss with India the facilitation of operation over this route.

After having studied the full information received from Pakistan and India, and an intimation from the Government of Pakistan of its willingness to discuss additional corridors, the Council found in October that the possibilities of agreement by negotiation between the parties had not been exhausted and requested the two Governments to continue their negotiations and to report progress to Council in January. Negotiations were immediately put in train in Karachi; an accommodating attitude was adopted by both parties; and a solution acceptable to both was adopted in December. The Government of Pakistan, while unable to agree to a direct route from Delhi, via Peshawar, to Kabul or to a route from Karachi, via Quetta, to Kandahar, agreed to open additional corridors through the prohibited area—

- (a) on a direct route from Lahore to a point on the Afghan frontier on the rhumb line track Lahore—Kandahar;
- (b) on a direct route from Karachi to a point on the Afghan frontier on the rhumb line track Karachi—Kandahar.

Pakistan also agreed to provide certain operational facilities necessary for the operation of air services along these routes.

The first route, passing near Dera Ismail Khan and over southern Waziristan, has not the advantage of following a normal trade route such as the age-old road through the Khyber Pass; but air routes are not tied to surface features and this corridor reduces the air distance between Delhi and Kabul by over a thousand miles—to 780 miles. The second is the most reasonably direct route from the south of India to Afghanistan.

The settlement of this disagreement stands, in the first place, to the credit of the two Governments of Pakistan and India for the understanding attitude which they both brought to the discussion, once the facts and the issues had been fully stated. Tributes must also be paid to the High Commissioners\* of the two Governments, whose cordial cooperation and insight contributed largely to the attainment of a full understanding, by all concerned, of the issues and of what could be regarded as a reasonable solution of them. The settlement reflects the value of a full and open examination of the facts by an international organisation such as ICAO, with the opportunity that that gives for informal counsel. There is reason to hope that such examination and consultation will prove a pattern for other cases should they arise and preclude the necessity of resorting to the inevitably ponderous machinery of a judicial hearing by the Council.

\* His Excellency R. R. Saksena, High Commissioner for India and His Excellency Mohamed Ikramullah, High Commissioner for Pakistan.

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# "TRADE KASHMIR FOR EAST BENGAL"

By Michael Edwardes

THERE appeared in a South Indian weekly on May 7th, 1950, an article by M. N. Roy putting forward the rather startling suggestion that India should "Trade Kashmir for East Bengal." It was followed, in later issues, by two critical attacks. I make no apology for reviving the ideas of these articles in 1953. The explanation is simple: I did not read them at the time and now that I have done so, it is possible, as Kashmir again looms large in the news, that readers may find them interesting, as an expression of feelings that are still evident in India.

Roy wrote his article just after the signing of the Delhi Agreement concerning the protection of minorities in India and Pakistan. In making a statement to the Indian Parliament, Jawaharlal Nehru had said: "Unless this fear and insecurity are removed completely, and normal civilised conditions of life prevail, this problem will not be solved in spite of all agreements." Roy takes this statement and in particular the phrase "normal civilised conditions" as his point of departure.

Roy immediately marks down the majority of the political-minded in India as medieval, that Hindu India is against the Agreement. He maintains that the absurd contention of the Hindu Mahasabha that Partition could only mean the establishment of a Hindu state in India, is secretly approved by the majority of Congress members. The next logical step from this is the identification of political citizenship with religion—the Muslims are foreigners whether they stay or not. The possibility of "normal civilised conditions" is automatically ruled out.

In the two Bengals, the Agreement would stand or fall. The strongest opposition to it came from West Bengal. Two Bengali members of the Central government soon after resigned as an expression of this hostility. Because Roy felt that such conditions would sabotage the chances of the Delhi Agreement he makes the suggestion that the only possible solution is the re-unification of Bengal.

If the differences that exist between India and Pakistan are examined as objectively as possible, the real problem is seen to be in the relations between the two Bengals. In the final analysis the Kashmir affair has continued unresolved because it is fundamentally a question of prestige. Bengal is quite another matter.

The partition of Bengal when finally independence was achieved is perhaps one of history's greatest and most tragic ironies. For out of the agitation against the first division of Bengal in 1905 arose the organised movement for national independence.

The partition of Bengal in 1947 was, to say the least, an unfortunate measure. In the old Bengal, Hindus and Muslims were pretty evenly balanced. In the two Bengals, permanent minorities were immediately created. Com-

munal passions were exacerbated by partition.

Mass-migration is no solution. The economy of both sides would be disrupted. Nor could Pakistan reasonably be expected to give up East Bengal. Roy's solution is simple—"Trade Kashmir for East Bengal."

The Government of India would waive its claims on Kashmir. India is anyway committed to the principle that the people of Kashmir should decide their own fate. The



result of a plebiscite is a foregone conclusion—therefore India stands to lose nothing. This is *realpolitik* at its crudest. The Kashmir problem has remained only because the result of a plebiscite is only too obvious. Perhaps Pakistan could be persuaded to agree to the exchange. She would, apparently, be well advised to do so. Not only does it solve an affair that has moved into a dangerous international context but it makes it possible for Pakistan to become an integrated and defensible state.

There is the danger of communist infiltration in East Bengal and the difficulty of communication with the Karachi government.

There is the possibility that the artificial sense of Islamic solidarity, that makes a divided Pakistan function at all, may collapse. It is already weakened by Bengal's cultural homogeneity. Should the collapse take place, there is the chance of a separatist revolt. It is, Roy maintains, only fear of India that sustains East Bengal's loyalty to Pakistan.

To disarm the opposition of Pakistan, based on considerations of prestige, a united Bengal should, for a transitional period, become an autonomous state. When passions have cooled the Bengalis themselves would decide whether to join India or not. That, in essence, is the plan that Roy suggests. It has all the facile plausibility of an exercise in Nazi geopolitics. It emphasises the pre-air-power concept of strategic frontiers. General Hanshofer



has, apparently, risen from the grave.

There are, however, more pressing arguments than strategic considerations. The main one, of course, is economic. East Bengal is, as a critic of Roy's scheme put it, "Pakistan's milch-cow." It is without doubt the economic ballast of the country. Its surpluses maintain Karachi; without it Pakistan could have no viable existence. The economy of East Bengal conceals the fact that Pakistan has no rational *raison d'être*. It is unlikely that Pakistan would agree to exchange East Bengal for the limited potentialities of the Kashmir valley, for that is all the question of Kashmir really amounts to in 1953.

Perhaps on an equal level, the opportunities for hostile propaganda concerning minority persecution would increase after such an exchange. The possibilities of war in the sub-continent would intensify.

The solution Roy suggests is a courageous one and though it might soften the tragedy of divided Bengal it would create even greater ones in its place. The Kashmir problem is insoluble in any rational and satisfactory way. The present situation, which is itself a sort of solution, cannot exist for ever. The tragedy of it all lies in the fact that only in the supremely impossible can it be solved—in the re-unification of India.

## WHO ARE THE INDONESIANS?

By G. P. G. Thomson

**W**HO are the Indonesians? It is as difficult to answer as that question asked by a Malay friend of mine—who are the Europeans?

To avoid misconception—the Indonesians are not a race, but a conglomerate of races, who inhabit that immense group of tropical islands which stretch 3,000 miles along the equator. Their outlook and philosophies differ diametrically, as do their spiritual and cultural levels.

This applies even to those living on adjacent islands in a particular island group. Take Bali and Lombok in the Lesser Sundas as an example. These two islands are divided geographically by a narrow strip of water—yet spiritually their people are as the poles apart.

Old names for the archipelago—Indonesia "Islands of the Indies" and Nusantara "All Islands"—give the clue to the diversity of races and cultures to be found there for it has been the sea that has brought immigrants from island to island, to mix with the original inhabitants. Paradoxically it is the sea that has been responsible for the insularity of the people, and the fact that there is little "Indonesian sense" apparent throughout the archipelago. Troublous times and vicious Japanese propaganda have to some extent made the people more racially conscious—but this does not necessarily mean that they are "Indonesia conscious."

The former spate of propaganda photographs, emanating from Java, which depicted wildly patriotic crowds, with arms upraised shouting "Merdeka," ("freedom") mesmerised the United Nations and most of the world as well—but recent events in Java and elsewhere have made thinking people realise that such frenzied enthusiasm for the Indonesian Republic was not as unanimous as the world was led to believe. Factional strife has raised its ugly head and conditions in certain parts, in West Java for example, and in Celebes, are chaotic. Unity is about the last word applicable to these lawless areas.

The nearest approach to a common factor amongst the polyglot races of Indonesia is found in religion, yet here

again though Islam predominates there are many forms of it in practice and there are other beliefs and creeds to be found in the numerous islands.

Sumatra, the fifth largest island in the world and one of the corner stones of Indonesia today, supports the warlike Achinese in its wild north country. These people have a strong Arab strain. They are subdivided into tribes, the best known being the Alaslanders and the Gajos. All are strict followers of Islam. Apart from fighting, which to date has been their chief occupation, they produce beautifully woven fabrics in Atjeh, known as "Idjas," and also most attractive wicker work which is called "Trawang." Politically their slogan is "Atjeh for the Achinese."

Turning to the mid-western part of Sumatra, one comes to the country of the Minang Kabauers, where women exert more influence in tribal affairs than is the case in most Mohammedan communities. Here, as in other parts of Indonesia, the simple tiller of the soil predominates. Lovely woven fabrics come from the Minang Kabau country however, and the people are also skilled in brass work and wicker work. They are racially conscious of being Minang Kabauers but further than that they do not go.

In the central Highlands of Sumatra dwell the Bataks—a people of cannibalistic origin. This race is subdivided into Puck Pucks, Tobanese, and Karo Bataks. All speak different dialects and there is nothing whatsoever in common between them and the other races on the island. The Bataks are not Moslems—in fact they are one of the few races with whom I have come in contact who possess little if any religious beliefs. Christianity has taken root to some considerable extent however, especially amongst the Tobanese Bataks.

When I first visited this Batak country forty years ago, I was astonished to see these primitive people playing chess. The common belief that they learnt the game from the Dutch is, I think, erroneous. They are intelligent and simply love to argue—it is not surprising therefore that they are politically minded.

On the shores of the East Coast of Sumatra is found the Malay proper. In places where Batak influence is noticeable, the purity of the Malay language has suffered. All these Malays are strict Mohammedans. They are chiefly fishermen. Hard work is anathema to them, most of the tilling of the soil being left to the women, but for all their laziness however they are likeable. In the south of the Island the Palembangese are the descendants of the ancient Hindu colony of Sriwidjaja, which flourished from the time of the Roman Empire until the end of the Middle Ages. Here old traditional dances are very popular with the people although they are now Moslems.

Let us now take the Javanese, Madurese, Sundanese, Bandjarese and other races of the archipelago who have immigrated. They really form the working backbone of Sumatra. Being chiefly employed on the rubber and oil palm estates of the Island, they have learnt to work under European supervision. The result is that when they eventually get their own small properties, they make a success of them.

All these immigrant people speak their own language, though in time they learn the *lingua franca* of the country, which is Malay.

One must add to these hard working manual labourers the equally hard working Chinese, Arabs and Indians. The sum total of all these diverse races makes a kaleidoscopic design which not only comprises the population of Sumatra, but gives a clue to the mixed racial composition of the rest of Indonesia.

In Borneo the same pattern is followed as in Sumatra. There is nothing in common, for example, between an aboriginal Dyak and a Bandjarese except that both are Borneans.

The Dyaks are pagans, whilst the remaining inhabitants of Indonesian Borneo (except the numerous Chinese in and around Venice-like Pontianak) are Mohammedans.

Chinese constitute only 3% of the population of Indonesia—but they are a very important community nevertheless. By sheer ability and perseverance they again control the rice market and they have already bought out many Indonesian firms. As to their politics, these lie where their business and social interests lie. Under certain circumstances it is not difficult to imagine where that would be—a fact which Peking knows very well indeed.

Cross the Macassar Strait to strangely shaped Celebes and you will discover more religious differentiations there than on any other island in the archipelago. In the North the Minahassas and Minadonese are Christian. In the centre of the island some of the Toradjas are Christian though in isolated groups polytheism still survives (the Toalas and Toradjas are the original people of Celebes). In the South of the island, Macassarrese and Buganese are all Moslems.

Across the Molucca Sea lie the islands of that name—also called the Spice Islands. The larger islands in the group are Halmahera, Morotai, well known in the last war, Obi Major, Sula, Ceram and Buru. Smaller ones,

Ternate, Tidore, Amboyno and the Banda Islands, are also worthy of mention. The Ambonese, for example, were the backbone of the former Netherlands East Indies Colonial army. Loyal to the Dutch and good fighters, most of them hold the Christian faith. They, like the Minahassas from Northern Celebes, are partly Melanesian in race; Islam dominates the Northern Moluccas.

If you cross the Banda Sea from Amboyno to Timor and travel along the chain known as the lesser Sunda Islands to Bali, you will encounter the same distinction of race and custom common to the whole of Indonesia. I once asked a fellow traveller what the inhabitants of these lesser Sunda Islands had in common. He replied, "Horses"—incidentally a very good answer. For though close proximity of island to island in the chain running from Wetar to Java gives you the impression of unity, in reality this is far from the case. What a wonderful variety of landscape meets the eye—variety also in customs, art, and religion, and last but not least, in the people themselves.

Bali, the tourist island of Indonesia, is something quite apart from anything else seen in the archipelago. Linked to its Hindu past, it is one of the richest art treasure houses of the East Indies.

Last of all there is Java—the most politically minded island in Indonesia. Here Sundanese, Madurese and Javanese live, if not in harmony, in close proximity, in the most densely populated island in the world.

They speak different languages, possess different customs and have totally different racial characteristics.

How did a few Dutch civilian officials control this vast conglomerate of races? The secret of their success was in knowing the people and respecting their "Adat," or traditional law giving. Before a Dutch civilian official rose to higher rank he knew the traditional customs of the people, having worked for years as District Officer on different islands. His knowledge of Indonesia as a whole was infinitely better than that of a Sumatran, a Borneo or a Javanese.

The present Indonesian Government is faced with many problems. Chief amongst these is the restoration of internal security and defence, which in Indonesia means completely reorganising the armed forces. First of all, however, the present Government must take the plunge and hold a National election. This is no easy task, and one can readily understand why the present rulers fight shy of submitting themselves to the will of the people. It is an unsatisfactory state of affairs to continue to have a Government not popularly elected in the democratic sense—they are hampered at every turn and the more hesitancy they show the more they will be hampered until the sands run out. The United Nations had a lot to say at the time of the so-called "Indonesian Dispute." Can they not use their good offices now and persuade the present Government of Indonesia that he who hesitates is lost? For, until there is effective administration over the regions, and adequate representation of the regions, conditions in Indonesia will continue to deteriorate.

# COMMUNALISM AND RACIALISM IN MALAYAN POLITICS

By S. A. E. Hogan-Shaidali

**I**N most of the lands of Asia which have won their independence or are approaching it, politics and political entities have grown with alarming ferocity and power. Yet in Malaya there is a strange dormancy in the political picture. It may be attributed to the apathy and self-concerned, or inward-turning, nature of communal feelings and the racial division of opinion in a plural society. This development holds up the political progress of all Malaya and is a major cause of the postponement of the country's right to independence.

Taken racially there are four major divisions of the Malayan population. These are the Malay, Chinese, Indian, and European (or, more properly, British). Their origins are diverse but they may be summed up as follows: the Malays have ethnic priority of arrival in the Malay Peninsula and constitute the group lending Malaya its cultural and, to a lesser extent, social background, including a "national religion" of Islam. The other groups are later immigrants attracted there by the British policy of encouraging cheap labour for use in tin mines and rubber plantations. The Chinese have since their arrival taken over the greater proportion of the country's trade and commerce, while the Indians (this term of necessity including Pakistanis and Ceylonese) have moved into business on a smaller scale than the Chinese and also concern themselves with clerical positions, especially in the Government. The British are present in business as well as colonial administrative and military capacities. Numerically the Malays and the Chinese are the largest groups. They almost balance each other in this respect. However, this does not necessarily give equal strength to each group; a certain disproportionate division of group-power is created by such factors as economic superiority (in favour of the Chinese), inherent drive and ambition (again, mainly Chinese), pro-Malay sentiment in British policy, and educational developments (the British favour the Malays with free primary education; and the Chinese have developed schools in which loyalty to China is invariably accentuated).

At the last population estimate available, in June, 1951, the Malays were numbered at 2,600,000. The Chinese had the equivalent numbers of 2,043,000. Thus straightaway the voting potential of population creates a threat to the Malays, who view dimly enough the idea of being overwhelmed by a majority of "alien" voters once national elections are held. It is a major consideration which so far has deterred the Malays in what little desire they may have for giving the immigrant races their right to participate equally and fully in elections on a national scale, for altogether there are 2,706,000 immigrant Malaysians to the 2,600,000 Malays. With the predominantly Chinese island of Singapore thrown into the balance the figures will be 3,400,000 non-Malays to 2,900,000 Malays. Yet the Malay faction has to face the reality of the urgent need for sharing the franchise equally with the other factions. For the British to grant Malaya independence without simultaneously or beforehand having granted satisfactory representation to the non-Malays would be to set the stage for immediate civil strife, possibly surpassing conditions at the time of the partition of British India into the (present) Republic of India and the Dominion of Pakistan.

In answer to this problem no reliable Malay leader who claims to represent Malay opinion has yet come forward with any kind of positive solution, not even one to give satisfaction to his own group much less the non-Malay groups. The Malays have instead restricted themselves to criticising any British moves which might have been made with a view to giving some form of proportional representation to the non-Malays. For any Chinese

or Indians to put forward their own views on the matter would be anathema to the main body of Malays who are conservative in their views. To this conservatism, must be added their desire to retain their natural rights as "sons of the soil." The Malays receive indirect encouragement for their procrastination in this matter through the lack of British incentive in introducing any form of general elections in the country. At this stage only a committee has been set up to consider, within the confines of the Federal Legislature, the problems attendant upon nation-wide elections for the highest open offices of the land. The situation thus has arisen where the British feel that it would be premature on their part to announce general elections until they are certain of Malay support, for they are still smarting under the sting of the Malay rejection of their ill-ventured Malayan Union plans. They await some definite knowledge of the Malay demands concerning representation, if not at the elected-office level then at least in the polling booths. The Malays on the other hand are waiting for some definite British commitment before they move to present their own demands, and it is safe to say that whatever the British proposals may be, short of representation for Malays only (which is ruled out automatically), the Malays will want to differ considerably from them if only to spite the non-Malay element of the population.

The Chinese, having all the economic prizes of the country in their grasp, do not intend to give up their bargaining advantage without driving a hard bargain politically. The difficulty of the matter is that it is far easier to arrange for a political transfer of power, which is now mainly centred in the hands of the British administration, than it is to arrange for a diversification of the economic power held by the Chinese. Even if such a move were possible to arrange it would be almost impossible to devise a series of safeguards against the slow return or filtration back of this power to Chinese hands once they had achieved political equality. Such matters as personal drive and business acumen are difficult to legislate out of existence for one group or into the hands of another group, especially when this other group has never demonstrated its capacity for economic or commercial transactions. While the Malays are jealous of the Chinese economic superiority (conveniently overlooking the part it has played in giving Malaya the highest standard of living in Asia), the Chinese view with a corresponding jealousy the political and administrative advantages granted the Malays by the British, overlooking for their part the fact that the economically weaker Malays have to have extra support if they are not to be swept out of their own country.

What remains to be done is far from simple and consists of devising a set of fool-proof safeguards, of checks and balances, for a switching of communal power sources. The need is also evident for obtaining the whole-hearted support of the leaders of both groups for such a wide and far-reaching move, long before it is even planned. It is essential to work for the confidence of the members of both racial groups from the earliest stage. Unfortunately British policy has not veered in this direction and the consequences are evident in terms of racial tension, the creation of parties which are not political but communal, and the lack of a concrete solution to this peculiarly Malayan problem. With this lack of British initiative there has been correspondingly no mention of such a move from either the Malays or the Chinese.

Thus politics in Malaya, instead of being based on varying ranges of the political spectrum are rather based upon communal differentiations and distinctions. In each of these "political"



groups, in spite of much verbal propaganda to the contrary, there will be found the whole gamut of political ideology from sharp Left through passive Middle to sharp Right. The two major racial forces in Malaya have given rise to the United Malays National Organisation (UMNO) and to the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA), each containing within its ranks conservatives, liberals, and socialists alike. The Malays of one such true political conviction will disdain from mixing with their Chinese fellows at political levels. Each group amalgamates itself with racial priorities rather than with proper political ones. Thus there is no single brand of political opinion that may be said to represent either of these two organisations for, to take one example, their conservatism as such is the expression first of a Malay conservatism or of a Chinese one, and second only of the principles and concepts of conservatism as the word is properly understood politically. Their similarities of viewpoint are many except in the one crucial factor where communalism predominates and creates a gap between them too great to be bridged by the present leadership of the two organisations—Tengku Abdul Rahman for the UMNO and Dato Sir Cheng-lock Tan for the MCA. It may be said that UMNO and MCA are not true political parties; the lie to their professed political natures is found easily enough in their organisational titles themselves—the one stressing "Malay," the other "Chinese." That they have joined together in local and municipal elections to win elected majorities away from another organisation, the Independence of Malaya Party, is not so much an indication of their lack of communalism or sudden change of policy as much as it is a dangerous presaging of the extent to which they will go, even to combine ostensibly with each other at lower levels, in order to deny a voice to a third party which is genuinely non-communal and all-Malayan in its scope and policy.

What few attempts there have been in the way of breaking away from the rabid shackles of communalism and racialism in order to create parties of a proper political nature, based on varying shades of political thought, have so far met with failure or near-failure in the Federation. Here the colony of Singapore represents a more optimistic maturity of political thought and an understanding of the nature of political organisations; both the Legislative and City Councils in Singapore have elected representatives of the people who ignore, greatly, racialism and who are distinguished by their various political convictions—Progressive, Labour and Independent, as the case may be.

In the Federation there have been two major attempts at forming parties of a definite political nature which cut across racial lines rather than aligning themselves on a racial basis. One of these is the Independence of Malaya Party while the other is the Pan-Malayan Labour Party. Dato Sir Onn bin Ja'afar, presently the nominated Member for Home Affairs in the Federal Legislative Council and a former President of UMNO, founded the IMP after a serious rift with the ultra-conservative element of UMNO which opposed his effort to remove the restriction of UMNO membership to Malays only. After he left, paradoxically enough, the UMNO reversed its original stand and now admits non-Malay members. On this strange circumstance alone there is enough material for many words to be written, and one wonders whether the Dato's move was ahead of its time, or whether the Malay opposition was a deliberate move to force the resignation of the Dato, whose views are notably more progressive than those held by many UMNO members. Part of the aims of IMP include commonwealth status for Malaya as a sovereign independent state within nine years (from 1952), the right to free enterprise, a common citizenship and adult franchise, and an increase in social services and social security in rural areas. A point to notice is that the party supports both free enterprise and social services, covering thus a wide range of political appeal as well as application. This is perhaps one of the major defects of IMP in that it does not narrow down its policy to a stand which can be countered, and not merely elaborated upon, by other budding political parties. This defeat probably accounted greatly for IMP's defeat in the Kuala Lumpur municipality and the Johore Bahru town board elections, which were lost to

combined UMNO-MCA forces. To this extent the only Malayan political party which is not ambivalent either in concept or scope seems to be the Pan-Malayan Labour Party which, however, is weak in strength as well as in leadership and represents only a loose amalgamation of various State, Settlement, and Singapore's Labour Parties. Perhaps this too is slightly ahead of its time, and its greatest weakness is found to be in its prematurity.

Amidst all this raging of communal differences on two sides of the same line, so to speak, the British have stood by with no definite programme of support or encouragement to offer except what represents a carry-over from their immediate post-war, post-Malayan Union policy. This is an insufficient policy which consists in keeping the Malays and Chinese interested enough in each other's racialism to prevent an excess accumulation of nationalistic spirit to the point where it might coalesce to sweep British power out of the country too early for the good of all concerned. This policy has achieved its ends admirably, testimony being found in the lack of violent nationalism in Malaya of the type which seems to have characterised the other nations around it, but the corollary to it has been that it had not succeeded in providing the various Malayan groups with the necessary stimulus to eradicate what is most aptly termed "communal apathy," or to encourage the development of realistic, national politics to take the place of a peculiarly savage communal apathy. The failure is reflected in the latest sitting of the Federal Legislative Council in May, 1953, at which a move amounting to a motion of no confidence in the Member for Home Affairs, Dato Sir Onn bin Ja'afar, was presented by a Chinese Councillor, Mr. Tan Siew Sin. It resulted in quite frank statements being made in the Council, in the course of which several communal-minded speakers showed their true colours in the heat of debate.

The motion called upon the council to deplore the action of the Hon. Member in making a purportedly anti-Chinese speech before the IMP, of which the Dato is President; the Dato is said to have relegated the MCA to the status of an organisation under the control of the various Chinese Chambers of Commerce, and to have "calculated to stir up inter-racial discord" through this speech. The motion was heavily defeated but in its very nature of origin, from a Chinese against a Malay it could have been taken as an example of racialism. A strong debate led to frank and perhaps over-frank speaking in which Councillors were accused, and accused others, of being "an enemy of the Chinese" and having a "deep abiding hatred of the Chinese," this from a Chinese to an Englishman in the Council. However, while there was strong and heated racialism in which racial-minded Malays and Chinese joined forces again to decry, ironically enough, as "racialism" the sincere words of a non-racially inclined Malayan leader, there was also some satisfaction in noting that firstly the defeat of this most extremely-worded motion, and secondly the large number of Councillors who spoke not so much in defence of the Hon. Member under fire as in terms of their own sincerity in their conviction of the need to stand against petty racialism and their direct opposition to the proposer of the unfortunate motion. In the words of Mr. Watherston, the Chief Secretary, the motion might have done considerable damage in "stirring up precisely that inter-racial discord which it purports to deplore." Mr. Watherston went on to state the Government's full confidence in Dato Sir Onn bin Ja'afar as the Member for Home Affairs, and his words were greeted with applause and cheers from the Council.

In spite of the large number of rational non-communal voices that were raised, the dangers of communalism were quite apparent from the tone and attitude of other speakers, this within the first council of the land itself. Political development in Malaya is still stifled by such petty racialism and mistrust, and until the present leaders of all segments realise that it is up to them to work against instead of encouraging it, it will form a vile force that will twist the tenor of Malayan politics, as such, into internecine strife and bloodshed. It has qualities of appeal to the mobs and the masses that make it a danger of the first magnitude in a new nation.

# AUSTRALIA AND S.E. ASIA

*By a Melbourne Correspondent*

**N**O vital problem regarding South-East Asia can neglect taking into consideration Australia, the great island continent linking Eastern and Western civilizations and ways of work and living standards. Almost contiguous to the teeming populations of Jakarta, Singapore, Borneo, and having much of the huge island of New Guinea under her mandate, Australia may well be considered an integral part of the Far East. She is in a commanding position to become the workshop of South-East Asia, and the base for the dissemination of Western ideas.

No nation in modern times has made a more spectacular advance in industry than Australia. Up to the close of the First World War she was entirely a primary producing country—her wool, wheat, timber, fruit and dairy produce finding a ready sale in all European markets. There was no other industrial development to speak of. It was not even considered feasible that Australia could ever manufacture such things as motor cars, tractors, ships, or, indeed, anything more complicated than the common plough. But with the advent of the Second World War a spectacular change took place. When American soldiers appeared on the scene with their lavish equipment and novel ideas of expenditure, they did not take long to transform life and work in the Antipodes. At one stage nearly two million of them were scattered over the continent, and they became willing mentors to the Australians in demonstrating how mechanised labour could revolutionise a country overnight. Lathes and precision tools of every description were poured into the country from America, and the Australian workman proved his adaptability in using them with remarkable efficiency. The most modern results of technological science were put at their disposal and quickly absorbed, and almost overnight not only trucks, motors, and earth-moving machines, but even the most delicate parts of radar equipment were in process of production.

This lesson once learned inevitably led to great expansion in every field of industry. There was an incessant clamour for manpower, and thousands of migrants poured into the country. The target was set for 200,000 per year, although that number was not entirely sustained; and the national economy seemed incapable of absorbing them all,

till the housing problem proved an insurmountable barrier, and a temporary halt had to be called. But in that brief period of a decade Australia had become highly industrialised, focussing attention away from what seemed her natural destiny—primary production. Indeed, she could see the day approaching when she might have some difficulty in feeding her own people, let alone exporting food-stuffs to other lands.

This revolution did not pass unnoticed by her multitudinous neighbours to the North. They wondered how it had been done. They began to look to Australia for advice and particularly for technical assistance, and out of this developed what is now known as the Colombo Plan, mainly engendered by Australia. By it the underdeveloped lands of the East were to receive free gifts of equipment and technical assistance from more fortunate countries able to do this, to enable them to grow sufficient food for their increasing populations. Perhaps the purpose behind all this was the belief that hungry people are dangerous people anywhere, and the best way to keep them at home was by making life more bearable in their own lands. Very recently Australia made a free gift of 100 tractors to Ceylon. All the East keeps clamouring for rice and more rice and the bullock cart and the wooden plough are poor instruments in breaking up virgin land quickly enough to supply the need—only the bulldozer and the tractor plough can hope to win in this race for food.

Such organisations as the ILO in Geneva have rendered valuable assistance in this respect, not only financially but by becoming a clearing house through which experts in technical training can be loaned to those countries requesting them. And hardly a country in the East has not asked for such assistance. The universality of this demand may be gauged from the fact that at an ILO school of technical instruction held in Melbourne this year, there were representatives present from 11 different countries, extending from the Philippines to Afghanistan and Pakistan. These were entirely "assisted" students, but apart from them there are hundreds of private students from Asian countries attending Australian Universities and Technical Colleges. There are 240 of these in Melbourne alone, and so difficult is their housing accommodation that a group of Malay business men are now aiming to spend £40,000 in erecting a special hostel for their students.

Australia's interest in Asian countries—it may be presumed—is not entirely altruistic. Taking a long term view she can see that the engineering and industrial requirements of those countries may probably be supplied by her.

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# LOVE REFORM IN CHINA

*By Nicholas Read-Collins*

THERE is in the repertoire of the Chinese Shiao-shing opera a much-loved play, named "Lian Shan-Po and Chu Ying-tai" after its hero and heroine. The story, a thousand years old, still has universal and evergreen appeal. It is the tragedy of a handsome student who, frustrated in love for a petty official's daughter, dies of a broken heart.

The story of Lian Shan-po is the story of parental tyranny and decadent Confucian ritual. Once the scholar's daughter is forced to wed a rich and repulsive suitor, the audience knows tragedy is near. For this is a true to life play. The heroine is killed by lightning at the grave of her lover, and the unhappy cycle is complete. As the curtain falls, a narrator sings:

"But after death they were united,  
They were created  
Two butterflies."

With a climax of musical clappers and gongs, two richly brocaded spirits float on the stage, and with trembling wings fade backstage. This dramatised escape from reality sometimes gave a little cheer to the victims of feudal marriage customs. But the play owes its current appeal to recent legal changes in the pattern of Chinese married life.

Up to 1949, arranged, as distinct from love, marriages were the rule in China. For centuries Chinese family life has been governed by the rigidity of Confucian etiquette—known as Li—and the feudal stratification of society. The new Marriage Laws give young people freedom to marry as they please, whatever the views of their parents. Couples living together unhappily because of forced marriage can now petition for divorce. In the past it was customary only for the husband to seek divorce; now both parties may. In addition, widows have become free to re-marry. Arranged marriage was but one extension of Chinese feudalism into 20th century life. Formerly the general status of women was never above complete domestic servitude. Now the New Marriage Law gives women legal equality with men and many unprecedented rights. From the Western viewpoint, the New Law is especially notable for the recognition it gives (for the first time in China) to the European concept of romantic love. The apparent lack of any emotion which a foreigner could identify with love in Eastern domestic life has often puzzled the western traveller. But the Chinese, and the Japanese too, have often been equally mystified by the difficulties that seem to beset a Westerner anxious to wed. They ask, "Why is it that even your best literature has love and marriage as its most common theme?" The arranged marriage, of course, denied children the adventure of courtship and the pangs of calf-love, but, even if they existed, statistics could

not reveal the physical suffering, incompatibility and psychological maladjustment (especially among women) caused by arbitrary marriage.

To the Chinese, and in Asia as a whole, the sensual aspect of romantic love is not an idealised topic. The gratification of sensual urges (for example, kissing in public) is held to be vulgar and even immoral. In particular, the Western film kiss reveals to the Asian a lack of refinement. The main reason for this lies in the Confucian dogma that the function of marriage is the provision of sons to perform funeral and ancestral rites. The dutiful son, who is well trained in filial piety, marries because of his obligation to his parents. Custom dictates that he may not love his wife more than his mother. A display of affection to his wife therefore—even by helping her to alight from a train—indicates that he is giving way to his own egoistic self-satisfaction. Free choice in marriage is the epitome of waywardness and ingratitude.

In society where Confucian ethics prevail—China, Korea and Japan—erotic love does not lead to marriage. The Geisha house or the concubine's apartment is the venue for the satisfaction, and display, of passion. While the erotic literature and language of China and Japan shows that prudery has no place in the national character, the Oriental love scene was dramatised with much formality before the Hollywood clinch invaded Asia. The quarter moon, trilling crickets, fireflies hovering at the lakeside was the appropriate setting; then over the bamboo screen which conceals the lovers is thrown the woman's kimono . . . the man's follows . . . and the curtain falls. Ignorance of a rigidly enforced Confucian code for female behaviour led to some ugly incidents in the first weeks of the American occupation of South Korea. The wolf whistle, easy eye and crusher technique of the G.I. outraged Korean sense of decency, and many an attempt at fraternisation ended with a G.I. being castrated in a Fusan alley.

Chinese women have needed no persuasion to claim freedoms provided by the Marriage Law. Divorce Courts have full lists, and are daily witness to the realisation of equality between the sexes—an aim already given economic basis in equal pay for equal work. Divorce Court proceedings since 1950 serve to advertise the degradation and immorality which reached a peak with the economic collapse of the Kuomintang. One case I heard concerned a landlord who each year at spring sowing promised his daughter in marriage to a certain young peasant. The latter worked hard to please his father-in-law, and for a short time lived with his "wife." When the heavy work was over the farmer ended the arrangement. This went on for years, and the girl's health was ruined by syphilis.



Infanticide, which in rural China meant the murder of girl children, becomes a punishable offence under the new laws. During recent travel in the Chinese countryside I no longer saw, as I had in the war years, small bodies floating in the canals or corpses being nosed by hungry dogs on refuse dumps. In the recent past infanticide reached such proportions that polyandry was common in areas where the men outnumbered women by as much as three to one. This shortage raised the "bride price" in marriage and put female labour at a premium. Marriage arrangements were made at an early age, and the foster-daughter-in-law system allowed a girl to be given (at an agreed price) to her future husband's family. There she worked as an unpaid domestic for several years before her marriage to a man chosen by her parents. After marriage, she remained a servant, with the additional burden of perennial pregnancy. It was no uncommon thing for a child bride to be sold to a strange family, there to wait for her mother-in-law to give birth to her future husband.

On the whole, petitions to annul forced marriage are quickly disposed of. In Shanghai I went to see for myself how the Municipal Peoples' Court was handling domestic problems.

I found the court room quite bare—no flags, legal notices, political slogans, or production quotas. Two policemen, with neither badges nor arms, stood in opposite corners. Long benches filled most of the room, and at one end three tables and chairs indicated the judge's place. Beyond the windows on one side the Bund unwound from the Soochow Creek, packed with sampan houseboats, to the massive office and bank blocks which stare down the Shanghai river.

The judge, 35 or so, had slipped into his seat and called the first case before the public realised the session was open. The chatter stopped. Without wigs, cries for "Silence" or oath-taking, the Court went to work. The judge was supported by a respectable-looking housewife, her long hair freshly oiled and plaited in Canton style, and a young man from the Bank Workers' Association, to which the husband-plaintiff belonged. The husband, Mr. Shang, had previously been refused a divorce petition, and his wife was now asking for divorce on grounds of cruelty.

Mr. Shang said his grandfather arranged the marriage when he was 15. He didn't like his chosen wife and hoped one day he might be able to give her the slip. She was a country girl, couldn't cook, ruined his clothes when she washed them, and called him bad names. Never was man plagued by such a woman.

As Mrs. Shang sat down before the judge, a policeman crossed the court and with good aim and the air of one consciously setting a good example, spat into the white spittoon. Mrs. Shang wore a coloured print dress. Her black hair ended in fluffy rusty curls where it had been inexpertly permed. She said her husband left her after the wedding to take a job in Shanghai. She followed him to find there was another woman, whom she met with her

husband at a theatre. He demanded that she should sign a statement freeing him to marry someone else. She refused, and Mr. Shang feigned insanity. He wrote murderous messages on the bedroom mirror, broke the furniture and rushed about the house waving an axe. Mrs. Shang did not at first want a divorce, but since the refusal of her husband's petition, she had changed her mind, and requested protection.

The judge informed the court that Mrs. Shang was at school, and had passed the third grade of the primary school. She hoped to become a teacher. Then a woman read a long report presented by the local Women's Association, the gist being Mr. Shang's "feudal" attitude to his wife. The report quoted a night watchman's account of having seen Mr. Shang in a gallant, but indiscreet, pose with his mistress. "Do you think," inquired the judge, "that the husband needs re-educating?" "Certainly," answered the witness, "and we think too that Mrs. Shang's livelihood must be protected while she is studying."

It was clear, said the judge, that the marriage was forced and therefore unfair. The effects of feudalism certainly had to be destroyed. In feudal China a husband had rights which were denied to the wife. But in New China a woman had equal rights with her husband. The judge admonished Mr. Shang for beating his wife, throwing dirty water in the food she cooked, and for not attempting to educate her. The Court could not excuse discourteous behaviour to women, and Mr. Shang clearly needed re-education; but, said the judge, because he was forced by his grandparents into a marriage he did not like, Mr. Shang could be blamed for his actions only since the passing of the new marriage and divorce laws, which gave opportunity for the fair settlement of differences.

The night watchman from the Residents' Association then brought to the clerk's table a collection of broken furniture and porcelain. There were sympathetic grins when the clerk showed the judge a saucepan almost cut in two by the husband during a quarrel.

Taking advantage of the feeling of the Court, up jumped Mrs. Shang to demand protection from her husband. As if leading a political rally, she cried: "If my husband is not punished, the women of China will never lift their heads."

Well, Mrs. Shang got her divorce, and has settled down again to her lessons. Mr. Shang is also taking instruction on how to behave to the women of New China. There were no children to worry about. The only unsolved problem was the possession of the wireless set. Eventually the Court granted sole custody to the wife to help her more quickly to become a teacher.

In China today this story of feudal marriage ends not with the promise of butterfly joys, but with Mrs. Shang back in the classroom, discussing patriotism, production, and the war in Korea. And her former husband is undergoing a course of "brain cleaning" under the eye of a district thought reform committee.

### The Month of August

The succession of National Days which makes August one of the busiest months socially for Far Eastern Embassies, nationals and their British friends, were celebrated with rather less than the usual cheerfulness this year. A reception by the Korean Minister and Mme. Myo-Mook Lee to mark the anniversary of Korean Independence was cancelled in accordance with the decision of the Government of the Republic of Korea that there should be no rejoicings at the present juncture. Then the tension which arose over the deposition of Sheikh Abdullah of Kashmir exercised a profoundly damping effect upon the celebration of Pakistan's Independence Day. In place of a very large tea party which had been planned for the Pakistani community and a few of their friends, the High Commissioner, Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani held a service for members of his staff.

### Malaya Brains Trust

Malaya's new High Commissioner, Raja Sir Uda bin Raja Mahomed, opened an unusual discussion at the Imperial Institute shortly after he took over his duties. He gave the first talk in a two-day "Brains Trust" on "Malaya and the Far East," and while the subject is much less frequently talked about than might seem natural and desirable, it was the nature of the audience which made the occasion notable. It was composed of four hundred senior students from Grammar Schools in the Greater London area. Three student teachers from the Malayan Training College at Kirkby, Mr. Yussof Mohammed, Mr. Chai Hon Chan and Miss Prutam Kaur, supplemented the

## LONDON NOTEBOOK

efforts of the lecturer by replying to eager questions.

### Burmese Journalists

Four Burmese newspapermen were largely responsible for the distinctive character of a small reception held at the Burmese Embassy by H.E. U Ka Si. They found themselves in a gathering in which fellow-journalists from Britain and India were prominent. The visitors, who had just concluded a four-week tour of England and Wales, included U Aung Thein, of *Taing-Lone-Kyaw*, U Hla Kyi, Managing Editor of *Mandaing Daily*, U Nyo Mye, Editor of *Oway*, and U Myat Kyaw, of the Burmese Press Syndicate.

Contributing to the exceptionally generous amount of interesting conversation were the six members of the Burmese Trade Union mission, led by U Tin Nyunt, the Parliamentary Secretary of Burma's Transport and Communications Ministry and Secretary-General of the TUC of Burma.

### Indian Journalists

Indian journalists in London arranged a luncheon attended by the Indian High Commissioner and many distinguished guests. The President of the Indian Journalists' Association, Dr. T. Basu, presided over this now established feature of Indian Independence Day in London.

The Indian High Commissioner, Mr. B. G. Kher, replying to the toast

of India, gave a thoughtful review of what has been achieved in India since Independence, and the High Commissioner for Ceylon, Sir Edwin Wijeyeratne, introduced a rather lighter vein in offering the toast of the hosts. The principal British guest, Sir Walter Monckton, spoke of the immense importance of India having sound and responsible press representations in London when he replied on behalf of the guests.

### Indian Bank

An important event for Britain's business circles was the opening of a London branch of the United Commercial Bank of India Ltd., at 15 Throgmorton Avenue, E.C.2. Mr. B. T. Thakur, its General Manager, and one of the foremost personalities in international banking, came specially to London to preside over the opening.

The bank was started in 1943 in Calcutta by a group of prominent business houses, with Mr. G. D. Birla as its Chairman and Mr. B. T. Thakur, who then had over 20 years of world-wide banking experience, as its General Manager. In spite of its comparatively short existence, the United Commercial Bank is considered one of the largest of India's 500 banks, and the leading Indian bank in the field of international banking. It has 80 branches all over India, four in Burma and two in Pakistan, as well as one each in Hong Kong, Singapore, Penang and Pondicherry. It has large dealings with Britain, which will now be taken over from its agents by the London branch. The responsibilities of the new branch were entrusted to Mr. Venu Gopal, who has been appointed London Manager.

### Mrs. Indira Gandhi in Finland

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, daughter of Prime Minister Nehru, paid a short visit to Finland last month, in order to see at first hand some of the social welfare work and activities of different women's organisations in Finland. She was welcomed at Helsinki airport by Mr. M. J. Desai, Indian Minister to Finland, Mr. Kai Somerto from the Foreign Office, and Mr. Juho-Savio, President of the Friends of India Society in India.

### Japan Buying New Zealand Sheep

Japan is buying about 30 Corriedale ewes and rams in New Zealand for the improvement of Japanese flocks. This transaction is the outcome of visits by Japanese agricultural experts last year. New Zealand Jersey cattle are also being bought. The first consignment of stock is due to leave on October 23rd. It is believed that the Japanese are interested in purchasing sheep and cattle from Australia.

## FROM ALL QUARTERS

### Developing Ceylon's Tourist Trade

The Director of Ceylon's Tourist Bureau, Mr. Annesley de Silva, has submitted a plan to the Ceylonese Government for the development of tourism in Ceylon. It embodies the wider use of publicity and propaganda to attract more visitors to the island, and at the same time it recognises the need for improving the existing accommodation and amenities.

The report points out that some market research into the potentialities of Ceylon's tourist trade should be undertaken, the survey being spread over six years. At the same time, the Tourist Bureau should be reorganised on the lines of the New Zealand Department of Tourist and Health Resorts and the Japan Travel Bureau, on a revenue-earning basis.

Suggested improvements in the standard of tourist accommodation in Ceylon include the building of a new hotel with 4,500 rooms in Colombo, using foreign capital for this purpose. In addition existing resthouses should be improved up to modern standards of comfort. Training courses should be organised for resthouse keepers and their staffs.

### Asian Students in Australia

The Australian Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Casey, has emphasised the importance of training and experience in public administration for public servants of Colombo Plan countries. He was speaking at the opening of the Australian Public Service Board's new administrative training centre at Canberra which will be used largely by students from South-East Asia visiting Australia under the Colombo Plan. Mr. Casey said that many people thought of the Colombo Plan purely in terms of tractors and machinery for the physical development of Asian countries. Less spectacular but of great importance was the opportunity given to students to continue their studies at Australian universities, technical schools and hospitals and for the young public servants to go through the Australian Public Service organisation and get practical experience in its methods.

### American Aid to Taiwan

Admiral Felix B. Stump, new Commander-in-Chief of the US Pacific Fleet, left Taipei for Okinawa on August 2nd after a three-day visit which included conversations with Chiang Kai-shek. Summing up his impressions of the visit, Admiral Stump described Taiwan as a "vitally important part of the democratic, free and anti-Communist world." It is reported that one of the direct results of the Admiral's visit will be the early delivery of American naval vessels to augment the strength of the Nationalist Navy.

Among those who conferred with Admiral Stump in Taipei was Major-Gen. W. C. Chase, chief of the US Military Assistance Advisory Group. Explaining to the US Senate Appropriations Committee the importance of

larger military aid to Taiwan, Gen. Chase stated that the defence of the United States was really the basic consideration behind the request for more funds for Taiwan during the coming year. Calling the Chinese armed forces in Formosa a "definite asset directly related to the defence of the United States," Gen. Chase said that he felt that the US got value received for every dollar which was sent out to Formosa. "We feel it is a strategic bargain for our country to support the Chinese in Formosa," he declared.

### British-Philippine Air Dispute

After months of fruitless negotiations between Britain and the Philippines, the latter still refuse to allow BOAC Comets to carry passengers to or from Manila, which is one of the refuelling stops on their Tokyo service. It is now expected that Britain will cancel the Anglo-Philippine Air Pact which was signed in 1948 and which guaranteed full facilities to both countries' airlines in each other's territory. The ending of the Air Pact would hit Philippine interests as their air lines maintain bi-weekly services to London and to Hong Kong.

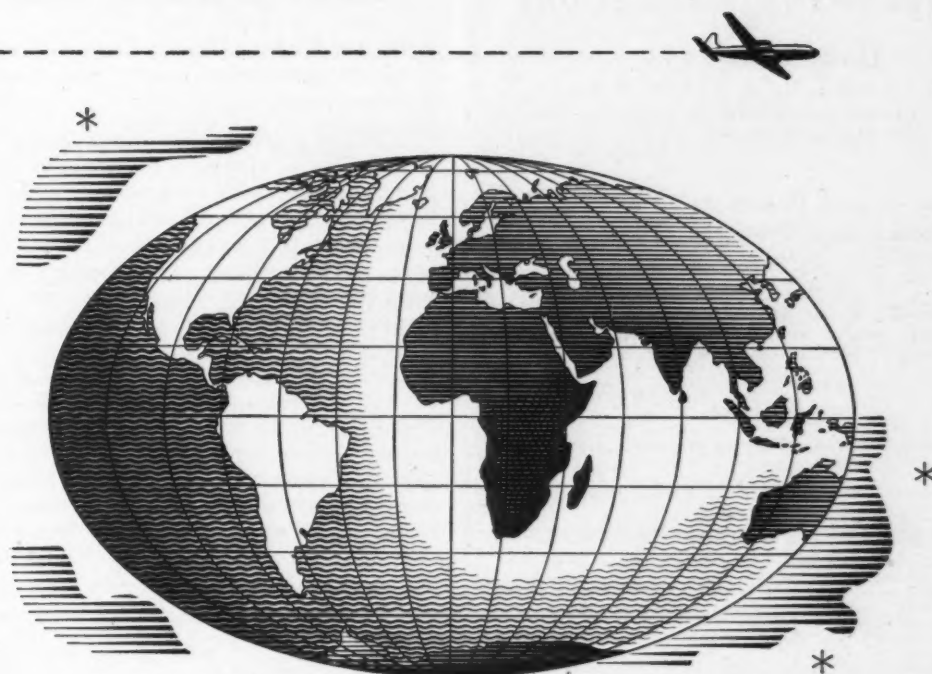
### Japan Revises Anti-Monopoly Law

The revised version of Japan's Anti-Monopoly Law, which has recently been approved by the Diet, is to be put into effect from September 1st. The Anti-Monopoly Law was created after the end of the war during the "economic democratisation" of Japan, but in Allied circles it was considered that the law had little or no effect in actual practice, since it was obvious that the component companies of the former large cartels had simply banded together again under different names. The revised law now allows any companies to hold shares in other companies in the same line of business unless "the stock acquisition hampers free competition." Financial institutions, such as banks, are now able to hold shares in other business or industrial firms, up to 10 per cent of the stock issued, instead of up to 5 per cent as formerly. The former regulations prohibiting the formation of cartels have been mitigated. Various kinds of cartels can now be formed in connection with price, production, import and export or other phases of economic activities, when approved by the Fair Trade Commission or other Governmental institutions.

### Barbers' Battle

A sidelight on the difficulties accompanying the introduction of democratic principles against deeply rooted traditions and prejudices, has been thrown by the action of members of the ancient craft of barbers in the small township of Kakori, near Lucknow, India. Barbers in that town have refused to shave sweepers as they did not wish to "degrade" themselves and because their other customers would not wish to be touched by hands and razors "polluted" by outcaste chins. The UP authorities are now dealing with the matter, but the barbers of Kakori may be whipping up more lather in this affair than they expected.





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**BOOKS on the**

**Notes for Tu Fu—China's Greatest Poet** by WILLIAM HUNG (*Harvard University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 25s.*)

This is a chapter by chapter exegesis, relating the various Chinese editions of the poems of Tu Fu, and supplementing the author's translations in his recently published work on the life and writings of the poet. Exhaustive notes discuss problems of time of composition, other versions, place of writing, and difficulties of interpretation. Long quotations from Father Amiot's *Memoires* (1780) are set against both earlier and later Chinese commentaries and lives of the poet.

In his first volume, Mr. Hung tells us that, unable to persuade his Japanese gaolers to provide him with a copy of Tu Fu's works to while away his detention, he determined that if he survived he would make a close study of Tu Fu. This he has assuredly done! The general reader can but wonder at Mr. Hung's erudition; the scholar will marvel at the comprehensive detail everywhere apparent.

NEVILLE WHYMANT

**The Story of Cyrus and Susan Mills** by ELIAS OLAN JAMES (*Stanford University Press—London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 40s.*)

In 1630 about 140 men and women of Dorsetshire organised themselves into a Church at Plymouth whence they embarked in the good ship "Mary and John" for Boston Bay. They settled on Savin Hill in an area known as Mattapanock which they re-christened Dorchester. Dorchester remained a separate town till 1870 when it was merged in the great City of Boston. Susan Tolman, who became Mrs. Cyrus Mills was a descendant of Thomas Tolman, wheelwright, one of the 140 who sailed in "Mary and John" as already mentioned. She embodied the virtues and the rigidities of the puritan traditions so firmly rooted in Bostonian soil. Born in 1825 in Enosburg on a branch of the Missiquoi river in Vermont, Susan came under the influence of a strong personality in Mary Lyon, the principal of Holyoke Seminary near Springfield in Massachusetts, where, after graduating in 1845, she remained as teacher till 1848. Forty-two years earlier at what was called afterwards the Haystack Prayermeeting, a band of students of Williams College—of which Cyrus Mills was destined to become an alumnus—launched the American missionary movement which, following the already well-established missionary activities of European countries, entered the Asian field. Mary Lyon was an earnest supporter and her recommendations in the choice of recruits were respected by the American Mission Board. When young Cyrus Mills presented himself for selection in 1846 he was well aware that the status of a married man was an essential qualification. The Board was in no difficulty: it had provided for such emergencies with the truly benevolent autocracy of the age. Mary Lyon produced

# FAR EAST

Susan Tolman. Cyrus and Susan were brought together but to the astonishment of the Board—especially of its forceful head Rufus Anderson—the two of them refused to be rushed. Cyrus bluntly but politely told the Board that he and Susan had perceived the risks attendant on too precipitate conversion of acquaintance into lifelong partnership. They won their point but the result—if delayed—was the same; a year after the first meeting in Mary Lyon's white parlor at Holyoke, they decided to get married and married they were on September 11, 1848, to sail for Batticotta near Jaffna in Ceylon on October 10. The marriage gave them both a happy comradeship of 36 years. Susan it would seem carried something of Mary Lyon's matriarchal spirit to the union, tempered however by a real affection for her husband, whose gift for financial management was superior to his eloquence in the pulpit. Both found in Ceylon a challenge to their educational aspirations but also a stubborn resistance to purely religious activity. In those days their paymasters in America expected spectacular "conversions" which the honesty of Mills and his wife soon held to be less important than what we should today call "social welfare." In the mid-nineteenth century the idea of converting the "heathen" was zealously nourished by the good folk at Home whether in Great Britain or the United States of America. Now a clearer appreciation of the merits of faiths other than that of Christianity has brought a greater humility into play together with a sense of the real value of humanitarian effort. I have personally seen the work among the lepers of Sam Higginbotham at Naini (near Allahabad) and suddenly in 1932 while on the National Flood Relief Commission in China met far up the Yangtze near Keinli, a young Swedish Lutheran missionary tending fifty Chinese babies of ages ranging from six months to three years and giving them protection against hunger and disease with the help only of a handful of Chinese male nurses. India knows that William Carey, shoemaker, linguist and missionary, from Bristol was the 18th-century pioneer of modern education there. In these days the names of Verrier Elwin (for his work among the aboriginals of India) and Sir Thomas Holland (of Quetta and a legend in that part of Pakistan) are as honoured as those of countless other social workers of all faiths in Asia which can rightly claim to be the cradle of religion: Christian, Hebrew, Mahomedan, Buddhist, Hindu and the rest. Illhealth was the main cause of the transfer of the Mills couple from Ceylon to Honolulu where in every sense they found the climate more congenial but in 1864 bad health and further differences with the Board led to their return to America where the building up of their own Mills College in California became the main purpose of their lives.

The story of that success, which after the death of her husband in 1884 Susan eventually had to bring to fulfilment is delightfully told by Professor Olan James. His affection for the subjects of his piety does not permit him

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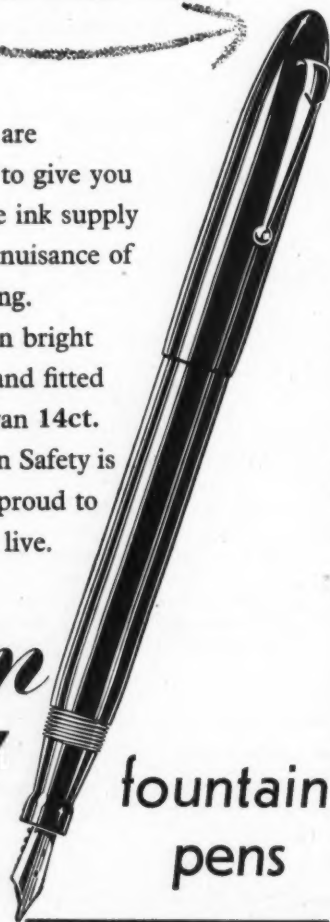
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to ignore their weaknesses or to be extravagant in his praise. As befits a human story it is garlanded with humour, pathos and enthusiasm. Moreover the author sees in the death of Susan at the ripe age of 87 in 1912 "the passing of the last Puritan in the noblest sense of that term." That bridges the gap between California in the early 20th century and Dorchester (Eng.) in 1630.

EDWIN HAWARD

## Letters to the Editor

Sir,—

In your review of Mr. Basil Davidson's book, *Day-break in China*, you quote him as saying that "China's successes are being achieved—and can only be achieved—by the voluntary and even enthusiastic effort of most of the people in China." How does Mr. Davidson know that? His book shows that it was through a Communist interpreter that he occasionally spoke to a peasant or artisan. Indeed it is clear from his book that he obtained all his information from Communists and there is no evidence that he speaks Chinese.

As regards the enthusiasm of the people of China, has Mr. Davidson noticed the directive from Peking, issued at the end of March to the rural cadres, that the peasant's individual right to his property must be respected and that he must not be forced against his will into mutual aid teams or cooperative groups? And the later directive (end of July) to the cadres from the Central-South China Communist Bureau, telling them virtually in so many words that they must "humbly learn" from the peasants the business of farming and must work with them, not dictate to them, as the only means of achieving this year's desired production of grain? This hardly looks like enthusiastic effort by the peasants. In fact there have been many indications that the peasants do not like the cooperative group system and resent the driving by the cadres, and that the grain production so vital for the Government's industrial development plans is affected by it.

The achievements of the Communists in river conservancy, railway building, clean government and the cleansing of old cities are fully recognised. But the Common Programme shows plainly that China is a police state with absolute power concentrated in a Central Council of 54 men and the Communist Party, which extends down to the humblest coolie. For a balanced account of what the Communists have achieved and their interpretation of "democracy" we have still to wait for better testimony than that of carefully chosen visitors.

I am, etc.,

Virginia Water.

O. M. GREEN

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## REVIEW OF REVIEWS

THE term "security in the Pacific" is one which has been heard a great deal in recent years, and one which possibly is capable of more interpretations than any other general term used in connection with the Far East. If you are American you consider that the threat comes primarily from China and secondarily from Russia, or from both combined. India and most of the other countries of south-east Asia consider the danger to lie in American as much as Communist imperialism, with a revived and armed Japan as a power to be closely watched. In Australia the general feeling is that Japan is the nation who in the future is most likely to try to expand, and security must take the form of a guard against such a threat. China sees America as the villain, Japan looks askance at China and America, and so on. However, broadly speaking, the west desires to secure the Pacific area

against Communism, and the east against colonialism and interference from the west.

A June issue of the weekly paper *The Radical Humanist* (Calcutta), commenting on John Foster Dulles' visit to Asia, says that although the US Secretary of State recognised the general distrust in the east as regards America's role, he did not seem to be aware that the main source of Asian suspicion goes deeper than a desire for political independence and the dissipation of colonialism. "The suspicion is rooted in the belief," says the paper, "that America wants to use Asia as a tool in her struggle against the Communist powers." So far America has done nothing to allay that fear, and the paper observes that if Asia were "more confident of her own strength and resources," that fear would be less haunting than it actually is today. The Asian distrust of America is not so much that she aligns herself with those European powers who, to eastern eyes, still bear the stigma of colonialism, but "because she threatens to replace Europe as the new ruler of the east."

Professor Werner Levi, of the University of Minnesota, sees no such distrust. In an article called "The Chances of an Asian NATO" in *The Fortnightly* (July, 1953), he claims that the behaviour of the Communist countries and Communists in Asia tend to favour the creation of an Asian NATO—just the sort of "tool" the *Radical Humanist* says Asians want no part of. Dr. Levi claims that there are marked signs of a stiffening attitude in Asia towards Communism and a tendency to believe, and show sympathy towards, the west—by which he means mainly the US. He thinks that there is a good chance of getting the smaller states of S.E. Asia to take part in a sort of NATO, since they are as apprehensive of big India as of big China. "In the past," he says, in a most extraordinary statement, "both these nations have given indications of expansionist ambitions . . ." (the spread of Buddhism and the migrant Indians and Chinese?). He says that many "free Asians" (a typically American phrase) are "for the western democracies, more are merely with them, and very many

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are still against them," but that the "tenseness and suspicion between the free west and free Asia are easing." Most of those that are against the west must, he says, be won over before an Asian NATO could be organised. Won over, apparently, to the idea behind that word "free."

It does not seem to strike Professor Levi, as it does Professor Venkataramangaiya, who writes of recent political developments in Asia in the *Indian Quarterly* (Vol. IX, No. 2), that "no Asian nation is at present in the mood to tolerate any symbol of western superiority and influence." That simple sentence out of a long and interesting article, written by an Asian in close touch with mood and feeling in the Far East is a good answer to Dr. Levi. A possible Asian NATO is just the kind of symbol which no Asian nation would tolerate.

A realistic and scholarly view of the situation in the Far East is given in an article entitled "Pacific Security as seen from Australia" by Professor N. D. Harper of Melbourne University in *International Organisation* (Vol III, No. 2). Australia is as concerned as any country with events in the Pacific area, and one thing that is clear from the article is that Australians are no longer content to regard themselves as on the periphery of the situation in the Far East, but consider that now they are "irretrievably tied to Asia. . . ." The potential villain of the piece in the Pacific as far as Australia is concerned is still Japan, and if Professor Harper is correct, Asian Communism does not appear from his continent to be quite the terrifying spectre it seems to be from North America. Nevertheless, Australia is faced with a dilemma. She recognises the possibility of a southward expansion by China, but also sees that there is a long term danger from Japan, made strong by the US to help combat international Communism. The short-term answer is, of course, a form of Asian NATO, but Mr. Harper is not as sanguine as Professor Levi. "There is a widespread feeling in Asia," he says, "that western policies are designed in western not Asian interests," and he concludes that, more important than military security, is the problem of economic aid to Asia to raise living standards, for "poverty provides a favourable soil for the growth of Communism."

Occasionally there come from Italy magazines which contain very interesting and profound articles on Asia. Much of the stimulus for Asian study in Italy comes from the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Esterno Oriente (IsMEO) under the directorship of Professor Giuseppe Tucci, and the journal of that institute—*East and West* (written in English)—is one of the best of its kind. In the issue for July, there are a large number of

good articles, but particular mention should be given to Mario Carelli's article on Indian dancing, which not only explains the use of gestures and the conveying of feelings, but stimulates interest by referring the reader to Leela Row's books on the subject. At the end of the journal the recent activities of IsMEO are recorded, and the extent of them is surprising.

In the issue for August 1st of the *Relazioni Internazionali*, another excellent Italian magazine, is an article, signed with the initials "G. B.," on the Korean armistice and the problem of peace. The writer takes a gloomy, but very realistic view of the subject. He sees no amicable settlement in the Far East as long as America continues her anti-Communist crusade into the China Sea, and as long as China will not renounce, even temporarily, her claim to Formosa, which, says the writer, has become a symbol of resistance to Communism. Formosa, in fact, the writer sees as the key to the larger problems of Asia. The United States could not abandon its support of Formosa without a grave loss of face. A settlement in Korea is hardly possible unless it is brought about within the framework of a general Far Eastern agreement—one being conditioned on the other. And such a general agreement rests on China's admission to the United Nations which Eisenhower is committed by his Congress to oppose. And so the unbreakable circle is complete. Divided Korea and the interminable wrangling over a truce, the writer sees as a microcosm of the larger problem of ideological incompatibility in the Far East.

In the Independence Day issue of the American paper *Saturday Evening Post*, Paul Schubert writes a racy, slick article on his visit to Rangoon earlier this year and of the work the American Embassy and the Point Four mission are doing there. A large part of the Ambassador's task, it seems, is to dispel the fears felt by Asians at American policy in Asia. It is a fairly uphill task in Burma where United States support for the marauding Chinese Nationalist troops in the north is interpreted as not only anti-Burmese, but as a symbol of encouragement of reactionary forces in Asia as a whole. William J. Sebald, the US Ambassador, is in no enviable position.

The June issue of *United Asia*, published in Bombay, is, to quote the introduction, a "departure from our usual province of interest," in that the issue is almost entirely devoted to a study of the American Negro. There are a great number of articles on diverse aspects of the American Negro, and a section is devoted to Negro art. Many of the writers are well known coloured Americans, and the whole issue was organised by Cedric Dover, the American anthropologist.

## THE CONFUCIAN CLASSICS

By Lewis Gen (Hong Kong)

SIZE-MA CHIEN, the greatest Chinese historian, commenting upon Confucianism, said, "Confucianism is extensive but non-essential, laborious but little fruitful; and, therefore, it is hard to observe to do it all: but when it comes to the regulation of relations between the sovereign and the subjects, between father and son, or when it comes to the institution of order for the seniors and juniors, men and women, it is just irreplaceable." "Indeed," added the ancient historian, "Confucianism, which is based upon the six arts (that of music being lost long since) fills up so many thousands of volumes, canons and commentaries, that it can neither be bored through by several successive generations, nor can it be perfectly understood after life-long study." It is true

that this great doctrine has long been reduced to the Five Classics and the Four Books, or rather the books of four philosophers, but even that is formidable enough for an ordinary student of to-day. So the result is, on the one hand, it is cherished with undue piety by a few elderly scholars; and on the other hand, it is treated with contempt by "progressive" thinkers.

To re-evaluate the Confucian classics, the first thing to be borne in mind is that, included among The Five Classics and The Four Books, there are a number of books which are attributed to Confucius; but as a matter of fact were neither written nor edited by him. Even in the Five Classics, there are passages, even whole chapters, which are apparently mere interpolations. Then we must



remember that the subject matter in the Five Canons covers the earliest period of Chinese history, and that the Chinese script had undergone several major changes before it began to assume its present form—two facts which gave rise to sundry interpretations and endless controversy. The Canons suffered their greatest misfortune at the hands of the Great Emperor of Chin, who commanded that all Confucius' books should be burned. When some were dug out of double walls, or again committed to writing from memory over one hundred years later, the original consecutive order and many passages written on bamboo plates were lost forever and numerous errors of transcription arose. These circumstances accounted for the wide difference in the commentaries. Fortunately, however, the more important Canons did not receive such drastic treatment.

As the Four Books represent the central thought of Confucius' School, it is appropriate that we should begin by examining Confucian Analects. This book, though of great importance, is but a collection of notes taken by Confucius' pupils, which were put together years after the death of the Master. It is, indeed, hard to analyse the thought of the Master, but judging by what he said and what was said of him by his own pupils and great thinkers in later ages, we may well liken him to a perfect bell which responds lightly when it is struck lightly, responds heavily, when it is struck heavily and does not respond when it is not struck. For instance, the following passage shows how clear and forceful his judgment, solving an almost eternal problem in a dozen words! A certain man asked, "How it would be to requite evil with good," Confucius said, "With what would you then requite good? Requite evil with justice, and requite good with good." One may indeed search in vain for a complete system of philosophy in this book, but the constant reading of it will undoubtedly inspire a man to self-perfection and make his life nobler. At least we may say that this is one of the greatest world classics which one can read with profit throughout life, discovering new lessons at each reading.

What Mencius has done to Confucianism may be well compared with what St. Paul has done to Christianity. Instead of terse remarks, Mencius set his principles into lengthy discourses on various subjects, not unlike modern treatises; and the book of Mencius, being the last one in order of time, seems to be the most authentic of all. His main idea is that man is good by nature, benevolence and righteousness being inherent; that by careful nourishing our nature every one can become as perfect as the sages; and that these two virtues constituting real human dignity are alone worth striving for in life. His theory on government, based upon benevolence and righteousness, is fundamentally that of democracy and socialism; and it was for this reason that Mencius was banned more than once by imperial decrees in Chinese history. Indeed, his principles on foreign relations are such that the writer is convinced that permanent peace will never come to earth, unless Mencius' idea is put into practice. In literature, Mencius' writing is superb both for its invincible argu-

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ment and grand style. Many Chinese scholars turn to Mencius for his powerful style, but it is really hard to understand why the seed of social evolution contained in his writings could have failed to bear any fruit on Chinese soil.

Between Confucius and Mencius there were two other Confucian philosophers, who served as links. One was Tseng Tzu, Confucius' own pupil, and the other was Tzu-Sze, Confucius' grandson. The chief merit of these two philosophers lies in the fact that they show us the door by which we may enter into the way itself. Tseng Tzu teaches us in The Great Learning how, by introspection and vigilance, a ruler can finally pacify the world. Tzu-Sze, in The Doctrine of the Mean teaches us how to fulfil the nature in ourselves so that by so doing we shall be able to participate in the work of the Creator himself. Thus, by beginning with The Great Learning, and going through The Analects, Mencius and The Doctrine of the Mean, we shall see the whole magnificence of Confucian philosophy.

Among the Five Classics edited by Confucius himself, The Spring and Autumn seems to have received least attention from the Western student, yet this work is more representative of Confucius than any other. In order to show how things should be, the Master took 242 years of history from the Chronicles of Lu, his native country, picked out the main events, and edited it in such a manner that both right and wrong appear implicitly in the wording. He employed only a few words for each event, very much

like the headlines in a modern newspaper, and except for the names of persons and places he used a vocabulary of no more than 200 words, and not a single adjective or adverb. But without knowing the circumstances we would be at a loss to know the reason for his judgments of past events. This need is accordingly supplied by Tso Chiu Ming, himself a great historian, and two others, Kung-Yan and Ku-Liang, who do not only furnish the necessary historical facts, but also discover the hidden significance therein, which might otherwise have remained in obscurity. There are some points, it is true, on which the three ancient commentators disagree, but the main principles in the unique book, to use a familiar tribute to it, "shine as the sun and the moon going through the heavens." Perhaps it will continue to shine if we understand what a positive stand Confucius takes against war, invasion, usurpation, and so on. Mencius said, "Confucius wrote The Spring and Autumn, and that made the rebellious ministers and injurious sons afraid." Confucius himself said of the book, "He who understands me will understand me through The Spring and Autumn; and he who condemns me will condemn me through The Spring and Autumn."

If The Spring and Autumn shows the judgment of Confucius, The Book of Change reveals the mind of Heaven itself. This rather mysterious book is based upon the well-known but little understood symbols of Heaven, earth, thunder, mountain, fire, water, marsh and wind. These symbols are composed of continuous lines called "yang" or positives, and broken lines called "yi" or negatives. By putting these eight ideograms in pairs one below the other, and matching each with the rest and itself, we have altogether 64 *Kwa* or symbols. Each of the 64 *Kwa* is supposed to represent in the evolution of time one period or situation, either general or particular to oneself; such as a flourishing age, or a decaying age, an age of revolution or an age of regeneration, prosperity or distress, and so on; and the six lines, or *hsiao*, in each *Kwa* indicate the six social stations we may find ourselves in—the lowest representing that of the commons or scholars, and the fifth from the bottom the head of the state. The whole philosophy of life, so we may call it, is distributed into the 64 *Kwa*, and under each line there is an aphorism in allegory, followed by a hint by Confucius. After the book proper there is further attached to it a number of appendices attributed to Confucius; but many passages in them are totally unintelligible or, at best, mere fragments, though there are also passages which indicate a mind really worthy of a Confucius.

But instead of its great value as a philosophy, many people treasure this mysterious book for divination. This is however, very doubtful. The original formula for divination used by the ancients being no longer extant, mathematical puzzles and symbolical jargon, fascinating as they are, often lead to nothing but absurdities and self-deception. It is interesting to observe that while Confucius himself expressed the wish to live a few years longer in order to master The Book of Change that he might be saved from serious faults, Mencius never mentioned it at all. Although Confucian scholars all had great reverence

for this book, most of them, especially the outstanding ones, would not let themselves be led away by the art of divination. But it is reasonable to say that, by observing "the fullness and vanity, increase and decrease of things in the evolution of time," and by grasping the rules of change in this book, one might become almost a prophet.

We now come to the Canons of comparative less importance, the first of which is The Poetry. It consists of 305 poems, divided into folk songs, poems used in cultured society, poems recited at the imperial court, and hymns used at sacrifices. Confucius says "The Poetry is inspiring, reflective, socializing as well as plaintive. It is equally useful in serving father near at hand and in serving sovereign far off. Besides, it also makes one know more names of herbs, trees, birds and beasts." The Poetry was formerly a vital part of education, and its socializing influence must have been tremendous. Even until recent years poems from The Poetry were still recited at the funeral of the nobility. However, as it sings of a society existing 2,500 years ago with institutions and manners vastly different from ours, and encrusted in a language equally as old, the effect and beauty is so obscured that its chief value for us to-day is antiquarian. But with the heavy ancient dust shaken off, and a little imagination put in, it can be still read with deep pleasure, though quite a number of poems in it must be definitely cast into oblivion.

Next to The Poetry comes The Shangshu or The Chronicles of the Ancient Times. This book contains the oldest records in China, some extending to 2,255 B.C. It is made up of records of deliberations at the imperial court, declarations and proclamations of a various nature, penal law, a number of mandates, and what is worthy of particular mention, a chapter on the geography of Ancient China. But as it was originally based upon two versions, ancient and modern script, the controversy concerning the interpretation of the texts is great. Therefore, for antiquarian study, this book is a treasure, but it is by no means so important to an ordinary student of to-day. As to its authenticity even Mencius says, "It would be better if The Chronicles did not exist, were we to believe everything in it."

Finally we come to The Li-Ki, The Book of Rituals. It is a miscellaneous collection of many subjects, from Confucian philosophy to almanacs, but is chiefly concerned with rituals and etiquette on various occasions. Part of the writings probably existed long before Confucius, but others are certainly of a later date. Many passages in this book are attributed to Confucius and his disciples, but they are so far from being pure that they are hardly worthy of a sage. Even the great philosopher Chen Hao of the Sung Dynasty, commenting on some part of this book, said in a humorous vein, "Probably the Ancients did not love trouble so much." Like The Chronicles of the Ancient Times, its chief value for us to-day is antiquarian, though it must be mentioned that it also contains a good deal of great literature, and that both The Great Learning and The Doctrine of the Mean were originally picked out of this book.

# GATEWAY TO PAKISTAN

By Humphrey Bullock

SECOND only to the famous Khyber comes that other great portal between Central Asia and the Indian sub-continent, the Bolan Pass, guarding the ancient trade route from Persia and the Caspian, through Kandahar and past the Baluchistan tableland, to the plains of Pakistan. A British army first went up that way in 1839, and the last white garrison of Quetta came down it in the torrid heat of August, 1947. Between those dates much flowed down its river—not only water, but blood, for it was a principal line of communication for the first two Afghan wars.

Twenty years ago the writer spent a few days in a little dak-bungalow at Rindli in the mouth of the pass, and daily ascended through the defiles to fish for mahseer in the pools and gravelly shallows of the nearby reaches. Of an evening, or when sport was slack, we cast about for vestiges of the passage of our armies on their way to the two wars. Our search was not without result.

Though hundreds of Englishmen must be buried in the pass, and along the approaches to it, we could find only two graves. One was at Dadhar, the tomb of Lieutenant Loveday of the Bengal Army, a political officer who was murdered in 1840—chiefly it seems because his bulldog had caused acute resentment by biting Baluchi visitors to the camp. Not far off, under a *babul* tree, was the grave of another European: *Lab Din sahib ka bhai*, "Mr. Loveday's brother," they told us, lies in it, but his name has not survived and we could not trace it.

"O Allah, wherefore make Hell when thou hast made Dadhar," ran the local saying; and the heat told with ghastly effect on the long columns and convoys that came this way to the First War of 1839-42. Still, after foot-slogging across 150 miles of desert, they had to halt—"rest" hardly seems to appropriate word—somewhere; and perhaps the parched and stony fields of stumpy cotton at the pass's mouth were not quite so bad as the wastes of Sind which they had left behind them. At Shikarpur, a few marches back, a colonel had recorded that in his tent—the best and largest in camp—the thermometer rose to 120 deg. in April. By the middle of June, 1839, of the hundreds of Indian sepoys in camp just outside the Bolan ninety per cent. were unfit for duty through sickness.

The only other visible memento of the First Afghan War was of a quite different sort, and we discovered it in a camp of His Highness the Khan of Kelat's troops near Dadhar. Noticing a cannon fronting the roadside, with the ready permission of a grizzled Captain of Artillery we inspected it, to find that it was a fine old brass six-pounder,

bearing the Honourable East India Company's arms on the breech, and an inscription showing that it had been cast at Sibpore near Calcutta in 1839. It may well have come up with the troops in that year, either with the once-famous Bengal Horse Artillery or as a cavalry "galloper gun," and been in the neighbourhood ever since.

The Second War (1878-81) had left more traces. A railhead was set up at Pir Chauki, now a nothingness marked only by a single house and a little mud-walled plot where, they said, four Englishmen had found their last rest. But once all was feverish bustle here. Between the 3rd and 20th May, 1881, more than ten thousand troops entrained at Pir Chauki for India, with only a single casualty from the heat. The lessons of old had not been forgotten. Trains ran only in the cool of the night: ice, punkahs, sanitation, and hutted rest camps were lavishly provided along the route of the evacuating but triumphant army. After the war Rindli, two miles short of the old terminus, proved to be a better railhead, and the line there was demolished less than fifty years ago. In our time the station platform had subsided into a long low bank of mud, but the old alignment of the rails could be traced; and on crumbling hutments were notice boards with faintly painted legends: "Commissariat," "Followers' Quarters," "Telegraph Office," and "Ordnance Office."

Nowadays the big double-engined trains climb the Bolan by another route, avoiding the lower stretches with their frequent washaways caused by thundering spates; and though the car and track pass near the old railway line they are too far and too fast to recognise its remnants, much less their significance, even if they cared about them. But the Pass had its days of glory, above all the one so movingly described by Lord Roberts in a glowing passage in his autobiography. "Riding through the Bolan Pass," he wrote, "I overtook most of the regiments of the Kabul-Kandahar Force marching towards Sibi, thence to disperse to their respective destinations. As I parted with each corps in turn, its band played 'Auld Lang Syne,' and I have never since heard that memory-stirring air without its bringing before my mind's eye the last view I had of the Kabul-Kandahar Field Force. I fancy myself crossing and recrossing the river which winds through the pass; I hear the martial beat of drums and the plaintive music of the pipes; and I see Riflemen and Gurkhas, Highlanders and Sikhs, guns and horses, camels and mules, with the endless following of the Indian army, winding through the narrow gorges or over the interminable boulders which made the passage of the Bolan so difficult to man and beast."



## CONTEMPORARY ASIAN ART

By Shibdas Banerji (New Delhi)

**A**N exhibition of International Contemporary Art, which attracted interest all over the world, was recently opened in New Delhi by the President of India.

Twenty-nine nations, including the United Kingdom, America, China, and Russia, participated. Altogether the exhibition contained about 500 pictures, including works by such living masters as Pablo Picasso and Henri Matisse.

However, this review is confined to a short survey of contemporary Asian artists whose work was on show.



"Goddess Durga" by Promode Chatterji (India)



"Kamber Pass" by Abdulla Brishna (Afghanistan)

There were nine Asian countries represented, namely, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Nepal and the Philippines.

If I were asked to sum up in one word the trend in Asian contemporary art I would put it as "Western." For instance, Afghanistan, though mountain-locked and almost cut off from the rest of the world, shows distinct West European influence. There were 19 exhibits from this country, 11 by Abdullah Brishna, seven by Ghau-suddin, and only one by Madam S. Choukavr. Of the three artists, Madam Choukavr is the most progressive; she is young and vigorous but she seems to be mainly concerned with pastel which, if it is her chosen medium, is sad. Brishna, the most noted artist in his country, uses his palette most recklessly and his pigments, heavily laden, seem to be a torture instead of a pleasure to look at. Of all his pictures "Kamber Pass," which is treated in contrasting warm colours, is perhaps the most pleasing because its composition is good and it has an air of spontaneity about it.

Between Japan and the Philippines the difference is great: the surprising factor here is that, in spite of the latter's deeply rooted connection with America, she has

stuck to academic painting, and good paintings they are; but Japan seems to have swung too quickly to the abstract style which, if my reading is correct, has come to stay in the States. But what abstracts and what moderns in Japan! Some of their pictures are undoubtedly of very high merit. Technique is their strong point, while precision seems to be their hallmark. For instance, the item called "Peaceful Girls" by Tamiji Kitawaga is an outstanding canvas. In sombre colours, with the minimum of details, its composition is remarkable. Trained in Mexico, Tamiji Kitagawa has been influenced by Cubism and Surrealism.

Other works of interest from Japan were those of Kaoru Yamaguchi (his work called "Little Violin" is a pleasing study in oil), Insho Domoto (recently returned from a period of hard work in Paris), and Kaii Higashiyama, whose "White Wall" in greenish tints was very much appreciated in India.

The most striking exhibit from the Philippines was an oil called the "Fish Market" by Anito Magsaysay Ho. It was the only Filipino painting which does not belong to the academic school nor influenced by hide-bound tradition. "The Fish Market" is bold and vigorous, yet it has a lyrical quality of its own. Painted in contrasting warm pigments, it shows a good future for its painter.



"Peaceful Girls" by Tamiji Kitagawa (Japan)



"Portrait of a Lady" by Zaini (Indonesia)

Indonesia sent six oils from Affendi, who is heavily under the spell of Van Gogh. The pieces from Soedarso, Prawito and Iljas need little or no comment, but of particular interest was a very pleasing painting by Zaini who still in his twenties has already displayed a striking originality. There are signs of abstract influence in his work and in the item on view, the "Portrait of a Lady," the brush work stands out boldly.

In the section dealing with Indian contemporaries we were eager to see what the artists of the present generation are doing, but I was disappointed to find that instead we saw pictures which should now belong to Museums. Painted long ago, seen hundreds of times, exhibited abroad and respectfully returned, history has passed judgment on them. Thus works of pioneers like Abanindranath Tagore, Kshitindranath Majumdar, Nandalai Bose, L. M. Sen, Gaganendranath Tagore, and Rabindranath Tagore need no comment here. The most outstanding work in this section was by Promode Chatterji. Painted in water colour, it was captioned "Goddess Durga." Chatterji is a deeply religious man and he paints as if possessed by his religion. "Goddess Durga" depicts the struggle between spirit and matter.

# ECONOMIC SECTION

## Japan's Trade with Ceylon

*By Austin de Silva (Colombo)*

**T**RADE between Ceylon and Japan has shown a remarkable development in the post-war period, particularly with regard to imports which have increased nearly seventeen-fold.

In 1947, imports from Japan to Ceylon totalled Rs.6,300,000, while in 1952, according to figures now available, the volume of imports was valued at Rs.103,800,000. The first half of 1952, with imports totalling Rs.57,100,000, showed a slight increase over the imports for the second half of the same year.

Japan's exports to Ceylon during 1952 were spread over a large and varied field ranging from prepared cereal foods, fresh fruits, spirits and textiles, to toys and musical instruments.

Ceylon's exports to Japan have also achieved an increase since the end of the war. The export figure for 1947 was Rs.300,000, while in 1952 it stood at Rs.10,400,000. The increasing export trade with Japan was particularly marked towards the end of last year with export values amounting to Rs.5,600,000 more than the total figure for 1947. There was a growing demand from Japan during this period for plumbago, coconut fibre, desiccated coconut and copra.

Trade between Ceylon and Japan would have reached bigger proportions but for the restrictions imposed, which were neces-

sitated by a serious deterioration in the sterling area balance of payments position.

### *Offers of Technical Aid*

Japan has offered technical aid and advice to Ceylon with a view, no doubt, to increasing her influence and trade with the island. The principal fields in which this assistance is offered are rice cultivation, fisheries and cottage industries. Mr. Tetsuo Ban, Japanese Chargé d'Affaires in Colombo, repeating these offers, said that the Government of India had started training Indian paddy cultivators in the Japanese method of cultivating rice, which has resulted in producing the world's best yields. He said that the Japanese system could also increase the yield of rice in Ceylon.

Referring to the fishing industry, Mr. Tetsuo Ban said that there, too, the Japanese technicians were in a position to guide the industry in Ceylon as they are doing in certain parts of India. The Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Fisheries, Ceylon, commenting on this offer, said that there were immense benefits in accepting the Japanese offer, but everything depended on the terms of agreement. The Japanese authorities will be consulted for further information on this subject.

With regard to cottage industries, the Japanese Chargé d'Affaires said that Japan had trained men who were in a position to direct Ceylonese in the various techniques in that field. As a result of this offer, Ceylon's Department of Cottage Industries has decided to avail itself of the offer of technical aid made by Japan, while the Departments of Food Production and Fisheries have decided to explore the feasibility of obtaining such aid on reasonable terms.

An official of the Department of Cottage Industries said that every cent spent in obtaining Japanese technical aid is justified as the Japanese techniques in cottage industries suited Oriental countries like Ceylon, India, Burma and Thailand. The Department has, therefore, decided to send a number of officers to Japan



### **What's Murray Bridge to you?**

Perhaps not very much. In reality it is a thriving town amid the vineyards of South Australia. Its social and economic conditions are its own and, like most other Australian communities, it has a branch of the Commonwealth Bank. The knowledge of local commercial conditions that the Bank obtains from its branches throughout Australia is therefore detailed and to the point. British exporters are welcome to make use of this nationwide knowledge to assist in their entry of the Australian market. Our Financial Information Service is available from Australia House in the Strand.

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to study the techniques in the operation of the various industries which are run on a small scale.

In addition to this, technical aid is being sought for the bamboo, rattan and paper industries, in which the Japanese have earned a name for their fine and delicate work. Apart from the actual working of these industries, it is pointed out that the Ceylonese should learn the courage, hard work, discipline and patience of the Japanese worker, without which Japan would have still been an undeveloped State like most of the Asian countries.

Even in sericulture, Ceylon has to learn a lot from the Japanese. It has been decided to obtain advice on this subject too as the productive capacity of the local worker is very low. For instance, it is stated that a Japanese woman attends to 400 cocoons, while a Ceylonese woman can attend to only about 40.

Ceylon's national newspaper, the *Daily News*, commenting editorially on the need for Japanese aid, says: "What is the Government's response to Japan's repeated offer to help Ceylon with advice and guidance in industrial and agricultural techniques? It would be surprising if the agricultural and food authorities in Ceylon remained indifferent to the possibilities of increasing our rice yield by the adoption of similar techniques.

... The fullest cooperation with Japan is essential in working out the economic salvation of Asian countries, and Ceylon cannot afford to ignore the Japanese offer of assistance. We may recall Mr. Tetsuo Ban's words when he became his country's Chargé d'Affaires in Ceylon: 'Japan is not seeking prosperity for herself alone. She wants it for others too.'"

## CHANGES IN CEYLON'S ECONOMY

By K. G. Navaratne (Colombo)

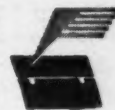
THE Independence honeymoon is over in Ceylon. The Government has decided to radically alter the policy which it had pursued since Independence Day (February 4th, 1948) by curtailing its own expenditure and by taking measures to prevent waste and heavy losses incurred on ill-advised schemes of mere political expediency. This was the keynote of the austerity Budget introduced in Parliament on July 23rd by the Finance Minister, Mr. J. R. Jayewardena.

The estimates of expenditure for the financial year 1953-54 total Rs.1033.5 million, of which Rs.791.8 million is to be financed from current revenue, while Loan Fund expenditure is estimated at Rs.241.7 million. On the expenditure chargeable to current revenue there will be a surplus of Rs.73.7 million. This would leave an overall deficit of Rs.168 million.

The Government does not intend to meet any part of the deficit by drawing upon Ceylon's external assets, which have in the past 18 months registered a sharp drop from Rs.1,208.6 million in January, 1952, to Rs.685.1 million at the end of June, 1953. The strength of the Ceylon rupee and the country's credit are measured by the volume of the external assets and any further depletion of these assets is considered inadvisable.

The Government will meet this overall deficit by a two-point plan. To provide the greater part of it, the Government will have recourse to internal borrowing by floating a new loan for Rs.80 million. The balance is to be met by increased taxation and other revenue-bearing measures. The tax on higher income groups has been increased by almost 10%. Estates and commercial undertakings have also been heavily taxed. The enhanced taxes are expected to give a net additional revenue of Rs.24 million.

Other revenue measures include increases in the postal and telegraph rates, railway fares and electricity rates, which together



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will bring in Rs.20 million. Customs duties over a large range of luxury and semi-essential imports have been increased, some by almost 100%, and these are expected to yield another Rs.17 million. Motor cars, tyres, woollen and silk goods, jewellery, liquor, perfumery, tinned meat, boots and shoes will all cost more. The tax on tobacco, expected to yield Rs.9 million, has sent up cigarette prices by 1%.

There is to be no change in the present policy of the Government as regards international trade, especially that with countries in the sterling area. But the proposed monetary and fiscal measures would cause a fall in dollar imports, and to a lesser extent in imports of luxury goods from sterling areas.

Several other economy measures have also been enforced. Expenditure on non-development schemes have been reduced, while that on economic development has been increased to Rs.266.7 million. Thus the allocations for social services—unemployment relief schemes, public assistance, etc.—have been cut; free mid-day meals to school children have been abolished and the subsidy on rice which accounted for nearly Rs.250 million in expenditure last year, has been removed. This is in keeping with the advice of the World Bank Mission which said that Ceylon could finance an annual development programme of about Rs.250 million.

But the removal of the subsidy on rice has aroused a storm of protest and made the Government unpopular. Demonstrations and protest meetings have been held all over the country, including a massed attempt to storm the House of Representatives on July 23rd while the Budget was being introduced by the Finance Minister. For the first time since its inception the House of Representatives had to conduct its business behind closed doors while the police stood guard outside.

The general reaction to the new Budget is one of fatalism. "A crisis for the rich man" and "intolerable burdens for the poor" is the consensus of opinion here.

# FORCES OF REACTION IN STARVING ASIA

By Noel Newsome

**T**HE agrarian revolutions which are still sweeping through Asia have so far achieved virtually nothing towards increasing food production. They have no doubt satisfied certain social yearnings and political prejudices in both the old-model democracies of the Free World and the "New Democracies" of the Communist orbit.

The revolution has taken opposite forms in the non-Communist and Communist societies. In India, Pakistan, Thailand, Burma, Indonesia and Egypt, for instance, the policy has been to break up the big estates and settle landless peasants on very small holdings. This has been done mainly for political and partly for social reasons. To satisfy the champions of the rural proletariat and spike the Communists' guns has probably been the main motive but there has no doubt been a genuine desire to improve the lot of the underdog and establish a peasant community with a real stake in the land—what Mr. Eden could call a "property owning-democracy," a society of very small capitalists.

In China, on the other hand, the policy has been completely in the other direction. The attempt has been to fuse the small holdings—in China there were even before Mao Tse-tung came to power very few holdings of more than an acre or two—into fairly large collective or compulsory cooperative farms. This naturally was in accord with the political and social precepts of Marxism.

Neither the splitting up of big private estates into tiny holdings nor the fusing of tiny holdings into big communist estates has had satisfactory economic results. The former process has given the landless worker a landowner's incentive but made it impossible for him to introduce productive methods, such as mechanisation. The alternative procedure has brought about the possibility of increased production with machinery but has destroyed the human incentive.

What then should be the solution? Perhaps the recent history of agriculture in Yugoslavia may point the way. In the first flush of post-war Communism, Marshal Tito's Government began rapidly to follow in the Soviet footsteps. State farms, collectives and compulsory cooperatives were established with all possible speed, but with stubborn resistance from the peasants. But, before there was time for Russia to supply the heavy machinery required to equip tractor stations to serve these farms, Tito and Stalin quarrelled and a new orientation of Yugoslav agricultural policy began. This was away from collective farming back to individually farmed holdings, but not all the way back to primitive methods. In the latter stages of the war and immediately after it, before the cold war began, Allied aid to the Yugoslavs had included a number of light medium-

powered tractors of the type which Harry Ferguson and Henry Ford had recently introduced in America. These were found to be eminently suitable for the small holding employing no labour, for they not only got the work done more quickly and better but could be handled by any member of the family, young or old, or of either sex.

Now the Yugoslavs have decided that, apart from any other factors and arguments for or against collective farming, the advent of the motor-tractor has put Engels and Lenin out of date. The idea of huge collective farms, it is argued, was born when steam-tackle was coming into use in agriculture, requiring vast acreages to make it an economic proposition and a large labour force to work it. The modern tractor requires neither of these conditions, and since, other things being equal, the small family farm is known to be the most highly productive, the Yugoslavs are going back to it and are now holding extensive and thorough tests to decide which make of machine it will be best to import in large numbers.

There is assuredly a lesson for Asia in this. There is another one to be learnt from Turkey, also a country of medium and small farms. At a time when India, with no more than 15,000 working tractors for its 370,000,000 people, is tending to condemn mechanisation as unsuitable for the country's "way of life," little Turkey has 32,000 tractors, is clamouring for more and is quite certain that they have revolutionised her economy. While India and Pakistan, scarcely mechanised at all, are struggling against starvation, Turkey, comparatively more mechanised than several West European states, is trying to solve the problem of a large surplus of grain.

This is what Numan Kirac, a leading agricultural professor, wrote recently in the important Turkish paper *Vatan*:—

"We now know for a fact that the sole factor in our economic development is the mechanisation of our agriculture. The Turkish peasant, who for centuries has been using primitive, practically antediluvian, means of cultivation, has as a result of the dash of progress initiated by the application of the Marshall Plan, suddenly made a complete turnabout and has started using the most up-to-date means instead of his wooden ploughs and oxen.

Peasants are the most conservative of all people all over the world. Those among our farmers who first initiated the mechanisation movement stand out among the mass which remained faithful to tradition, as thirsting for progress, at the price of sacrifices. The success they achieved as a result of mechanisation was so outstanding and obvious that even their most conservative neighbours were greatly impressed and within a short time there was a general keenness on mechanisation."

Mechanisation of farming has had outstanding results in Turkey because it has not been accompanied by the

regimentation of independent peasant farmers into collectives of landless labourers. Here is a lesson for the Communists. Peasant subsistence farming in Turkey has been transformed into surplus farming because there has not been excessive fragmentation of holdings and mechanisation has been possible. Here is a lesson for the rest of Asia.

Indian politicians who, striving to inherit the mantle of Gandhi, fulminate against mechanisation as out of keeping with the Indian way of life and who fear that it will cause unemployment, should bear in mind that their policy of land fragmentation, establishing a ceiling of 30 acres for any holding, is merely increasing disguised unemployment and making it permanent. By tying unnecessary millions to less-than-subsistence cultivation, by which they work and eat at about half capacity, these politicians are ensuring that all shall be hungry always and that industrialisation and progress towards prosperity shall be made impossible.

What is the alternative? To permit holdings of an economic size on which a family, by modern methods, can produce enough to keep themselves in comfort and health and to sell to the towns. If, while industries are developing, those who were before virtually starved and scarcely employed on their tiny fragments of land become openly unemployed but, thanks to increased food production, can at least be fed properly, then the last state will probably be better than the first.

Some fanatical opponents of mechanisation fall back on the argument that tractors will produce not more food but erosion and dust bowls. True, tractors used by bad husbandmen will cause erosion faster than it can be brought about without them, but it was not tractors that made the Sahara, the Gobi, the Sind and the great Arabian deserts from what had once been fertile land, but bad husbandry, burning of straw and dung, and massacre of forests. There is plenty of erosion still going on in Asia and in Africa without the aid of tractors, but at the same time erosion is being checked and eroded land restored by tractors, which alone are capable of the terracing and contour-ploughing on

steep hillsides which are required.

Those who want to put the clock back will have to think of better arguments. They will have to produce some more valid defence of a system which in India keeps 360,000,000 people near starvation so that 200,000,000 cattle shall be allowed nearly to starve alongside them, incapable of helping to raise the common food supply by producing milk and butter, or by work.

India's plight is worse than most on account of religious obscurantism. But even where the Hindu writ does not run we find unproductive animals, used for power on the land but incapable of working it properly or at the right time, robbing humanity of its all-too-scanty food supply. We are told that at least this system keeps the people employed. A man is employed when he is digging his own grave, but unemployment might be preferred by most.

There is only one way out. If the millions of Asia are to enjoy a life worth living, free from hunger and free from coercion, they must be taught and helped to do these things:

1. Rid themselves of the tyranny of tending and feeding useless beasts and make the beasts feed them.
2. Abandon the idea that the possession of an acre or two of unproductive land is a goal worth seeking and recognise that 20 people can live comfortably and have a surplus to sell on the output of 40 acres farmed properly as one unit while 20 people with two acres each, farmed separately, will barely subsist.
3. Cooperate where necessary and possible in the acquisition and use of modern farm equipment.
4. Learn and apply all they can of what science has to teach about the soil, the seed to sow in it and the way to nourish it.

If the Asian millions are to escape calamity in the modern world they must steer clear alike of mediaeval methods and already outdated nineteenth century Marxism and follow the road of cooperative individualism armed with modern technique.

## AUSTRALIA'S NEW OIL REFINERY

*By a Special Correspondent*

A NEW economic link is being established between Australia and the Middle East by the building of a large oil refinery in Western Australia. The refinery is being built by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, and it is intended to process there the Company's crude oil from the Middle East. The new refinery, which will be the largest refinery in Australia, is being built at Kwinana, close to Cockburn Sound, about 12 miles south of Fremantle, at a cost of nearly £A40 million. The refinery will process up to 3 million tons of crude oil annually, and it is expected that ultimately it will supply 40 per cent of Australia's requirements. At present there are only a few small oil refineries in Australia, and the country is dependent on imports of oil products. Australia's consumption of oil products amounted to over 5.5 million tons in 1952, and according to Senator W. H. Spooner, Minister of National Development, the country's annual consumption will surpass the 7.5 million ton mark by 1956. It is

anticipated that a part of the products of the new refinery will be exported to New Zealand.

The work on the construction of the refinery began in October, 1952, and the start of refining operations is scheduled for early 1955. The magnitude of the project can be gauged from the fact that about 75,000 tons of materials and equipment will come from abroad before the refinery is completed. 54,000 tons of steel, 7,000 tons of cast-iron as well as 29,000 tons of cement will be used for the construction of the refinery.

To keep the refinery plant operating at full capacity at least one "super tanker" carrying up to 32,000 tons of crude oil will tie up at the discharge jetty in Cockburn Sound every three days. Smaller tankers will transport the refined products to the eastern states of Australia and New Zealand. Refined products for Perth and other Western Australian towns will leave the refinery by road and rail tank-cars. Concurrent with the building of the



refinery two 17-mile pipelines, one 12 ins. for fuel oil, the other 6 ins. for white oil (motor spirit, kerosene, etc.) will be laid from Kwinana to the docks of Fremantle. The larger pipe has been ordered in the UK, while the 6 ins. pipe will be purchased in Australia.

The refinery will consist of five main units, namely two Atmospheric Distillation Units, one Vacuum Distillation Unit, one Catalytic Cracking Unit, and one Platforming Unit. The overall contract for the engineering, procurement of materials and construction of the refinery is being carried out by M. W. Kellogg Company, USA, and its subsidiary, Kellogg International Corporation, whereby the site erection work is being executed by a consortium of British contractors headed by Costain-John Brown Ltd., London.

Steam for the refinery will be generated in four water-tube boilers, the capacity of each being 75,000 lbs. per hour. Cooling water for the processes will be taken from the sea, an average of 2.5 million gallons an hour being needed. Fresh water for use in the refinery and for domestic purposes will be supplied at the rate of about 3 million gallons a day by the Western Australian Metropolitan Water Supply Department. For this purpose the Australian authorities are constructing a 20-million gallon reservoir.

Although there is ample room in Cockburn Sound for very large tankers to manoeuvre, the approach channel through the Success and Parmelia sandbanks presented a major problem. This difficulty has been overcome and a channel to a depth of 38 feet and a width of 500 feet is being dredged. This work is being carried out by Hollandsche Aanneming Maatschappij, The Hague, for the Western Australian Government. This dredging operation involves the removal of almost 7 million cubic yards (approximately 14 million tons) of sand, and is being carried out by two suction dredgers. The actual dredging operations began at the beginning of January and over 4 million tons of sand have already

been removed. The Government is also responsible for the building of roads to the refinery and supply of water and electricity. Two self-propelled dredgers have already removed 1.5 million cubic yards of sand and another 5 million are still to be removed from the sandbanks. A single L-shaped jetty with three separate tanker berths is being built in Cockburn Sound, and a fleet of more than 40 small vessels and rafts have been assembled for the construction of the permanent jetty.

By the end of June, 1953, orders worth more than £7 million were placed with UK, Australian and American manufacturers of constructional and equipment materials. An average of three ships a week are arriving at Fremantle with materials from the UK, the eastern states of Australia and the USA. More than 7,000 tons of materials and plant have been shipped already from Great Britain. The orders placed with UK manufacturers already exceed the value of £3.6 million, and include contracts placed with Motherwell Bridge & Engineering Co. Ltd. for steel tanks, Bruce Peebles & Co. Ltd. for electro-motors, Hayward-Tyler & Co. Ltd. for pumps and turbines, with Stewarts & Lloyds Ltd. for pipes, and with Cement Marketing Co. Ltd. for cement. At the same time the orders placed with Australian industry reached the value of nearly £2.2 million.

The Western Australian Government which assists the whole project will build 1,000 houses for refinery workers within 2.5 miles of the refinery. A new town, Medina, will develop, and it is anticipated that the new refinery will have far-reaching effects upon the economic and industrial development of Western Australia. Other industries already attracted to Kwinana are a steel-rolling mill, to be erected at a cost of £3 million by Broken Hill Pty. Ltd., and cement manufacturing works (Rugby Portland Cement Co. Ltd.). It is expected that fresh impetus will thus be given to the establishment of other engineering and chemical industries.

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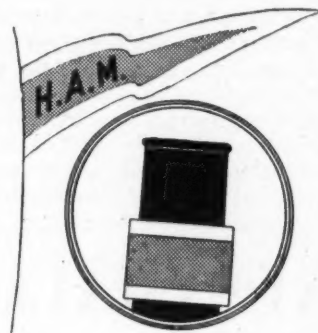
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## BURMA PURCHASES IN THE U.K.

**B**URMA, which maintains a favourable trade balance and has accumulated large foreign exchange reserves, has embarked on an extensive development programme. A Government Purchasing Mission was sent recently to various industrial countries to place contracts for capital goods required for the first stage of her development plan. It was headed by the Hon. Boh Min Gaung, Burma's Minister for Public Works and Rehabilitation, with U San Thein, the Chairman of the Burma Shipping Board, as Deputy Leader. The Mission visited Japan, USA and several European countries, and spent several weeks in the United Kingdom. It placed a number of large orders in the UK which again proved that Burma represents an important market for British industry (see "Britain's Trade with Burma"—June issue, EASTERN WORLD).

Among the UK firms which secured contracts were the following:—

Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Co. Ltd., London. Equipment for frequency intercommunication system. Burma will have an entirely new system of wireless intercommunication after the fulfilment of this contract. Delivery of the equipment is expected to be completed in about 15 months, and the contract is worth over £150,000. The system will link twelve main centres in Burma day and night for the Telecommunication Department, including Rangoon, by both radio, telephone and telegraph, and each centre will be connected with a large number of satellite towns by radio telegraph. The telephone and telegraph links are to operate as entirely independent services. The links vary in length between 95 and 588 miles. Aerial equipment and diesel engine alternators for power supply are included in the contract.

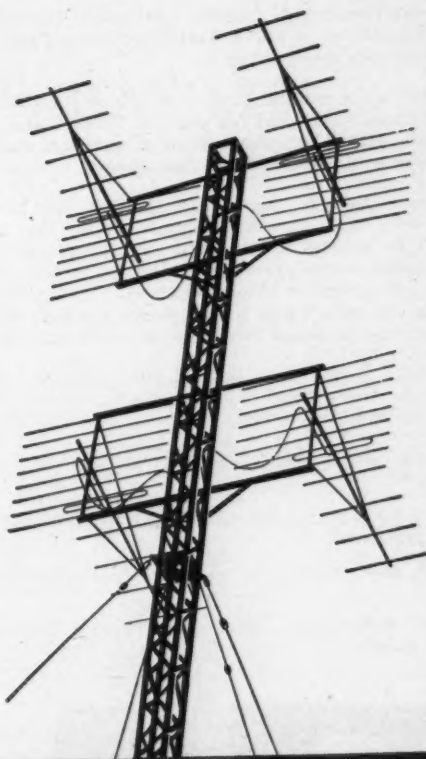
National Oil Engines (Export) Ltd., Ashton-under-Lyne. Propulsion and auxiliary machinery for 56 creek class single screw motor vessels for service with the Burma Inland Water Transport Department in the Irrawaddy delta. The value of the contract is £396,000 and the delivery of the first complete set of equipment has to take place within four months and the completion of the contract within 12 months.

Matisa Equipment Ltd., London. This firm secured two contracts, namely for two Matisa Tamping Machines—approximate value £25,000—and for 33 Infranor Floodlights to be used in connection with civil engineering works on the construction of a dam. These Floodlights, which project a powerful beam of rectangular definition, will be placed on temporary towers some 50 ft. high, which will be located on the hillside overlooking the dam, on the dam itself, in the Borrow area and on the roadway joining the Borrow area to the new dam. The value of this contract, including lamps, is about £4,300.

P. & M. Company (England) Ltd., London. 30,000 "Fair" rail anchors.

Keesol Ltd., London (Head Office in Hong Kong). 120 Bailey Bridges, 50 ft. each. Value of the contract is £90,000.

Taylor Woodrow (Building Exports) Ltd., London. Constructional and building material to the value of £55,000.



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Aveling-Barford Ltd., Grantham. 40 Dumpers, of four and a half cubic yards capacity, and two Trench Cutting Machines, as well as spare parts. Total value: £88,000.

Blackwood Hodge Ltd., London. 40 Euclid Tractors and Scrapers and a number of Euclid Rear-Dump wagons and spare parts. Approximate value: £600,000.

Thomas Green & Son Ltd., Leeds. 24 six-ton Diesel Rollers, six four-ton Diesel Rollers and one eight-ton Diesel Roller. The four-ton rollers will be equipped with water sprinklers and tank. The f.o.b. value of the total order is about £54,000.

John Fowler & Co. (Leeds) Ltd., Leeds. Ten "Fowler Challenger 4" diesel crawler tractors. These 150 B.H.P. machines are to be supplied with earth-moving equipment, and the order includes certain spare parts. Delivery of this £85,000 contract is to be completed before December. The firm's chief field engineer will fly to Burma to help put the machines to work and to instruct local personnel in their operation and maintenance.

Jack Olding & Co. Ltd., Hatfield, Herts (Export Office: London). One Heat Planer and two Barber Green Olding Finishers. The approximate value of this contract is £7,000.

Blaw-Knox Ltd., London. Dewatering equipment to the value of £10,000.

Stanley & Co. Ltd., London. 12 Dumpy Levels Instruments, Theodolites and spares.

Trehwella Bros. Pty Ltd., Birmingham. Monkey winches and spares.

Vauxhall Motors Ltd., Luton. 198 Bedford commercial vehicles and spares.

Further orders placed by the Burmese Purchasing Mission will be reported in the forthcoming issues of EASTERN WORLD. It is understood that, in future, the Burmese Government plans to send every year a Government Purchasing Mission to place orders for capital goods.

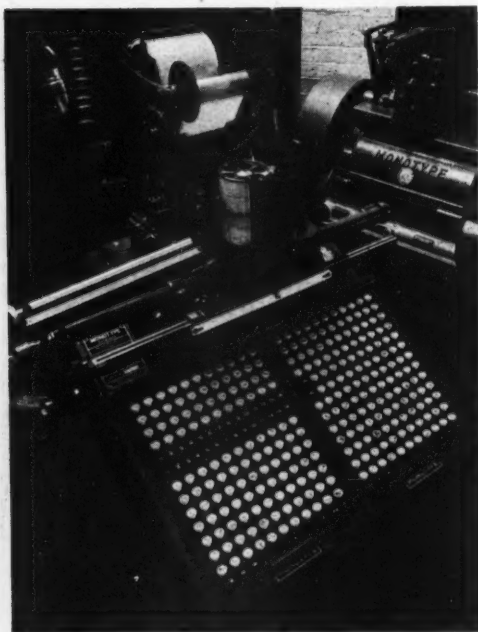
Another Burmese Government Mission—Planning Projects Implementation Mission—arrived in the meantime in the United Kingdom. The Mission consists of Mr. J. S. Furnival, Planning Adviser to the Burmese Government, U' Tin Pe, Secretary to the Ministry of National Planning and Religious Affairs, and Mr. G. S. Dillon, Secretary to the Ministry of Social Services. The aim of this Mission is to negotiate contracts for the erection and equipment of projects concerning engineering and technical education, forestry, dairy farm and veterinary training and research, agricultural research and training institutes and pharmaceutical laboratories. Another object of the Mission is to secure the services of technicians and operators for these projects.

#### U.S. and U.K. Build Printing Plant in Burma

Britain and the United States are together supplying the equipment and technical training to provide Burma with a modern book printing plant under the American "Point Four" programme.

The printing plant in Rangoon will have the first Type Casting and Composing machine to set Burmese in separate type. This language has more than 900 characters.

The production of school and technical books is expected to



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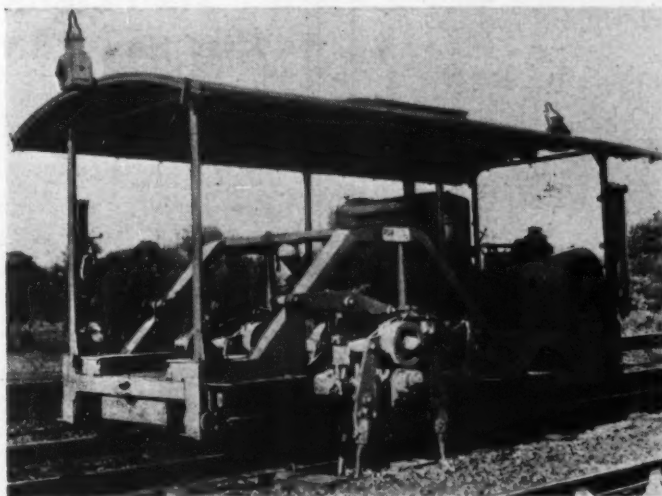


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be quadrupled from the present slow hand methods. Some 50 Burmese employees in a new modern brick and concrete printing plant will turn out about eight million pages per week, an important step towards increasing literacy.

The equipment, costing about £15,000, has been especially made by the Monotype Corporation Limited of Salford, near Redhill, Surrey, specialists in developing printing equipment for Eastern countries. It is now being shipped to Rangoon. The equipment comprises the Keyboard unit, a Composition Caster, a Super Caster, an Air Compressor Set and Air-Cooling Reservoir, two Cabinets for holding Moulds, Matrices and tools, and Matrices for light and heavy type in 12, 14, 16, 18 point sizes. Up-to-date pressroom and binding equipment, costing about £35,000, has been built in the United States for the new Burmese plant. Presses will come from the Miehle Corporation of Chicago.

E. Silcock, General Manager of the Monotype Corporation Limited, has visited Rangoon to study the printing requirements on the spot. He has helped in the production of mechanical typesetting equipment for a number of Eastern languages, among them Arabic, Urdu, Telugu, Devanagari, Tamil and Bengali. The Monotype Corporation tackled the problem of the 900 Burmese characters by breaking down the alphabet into basic characters and accents. By vertical splitting, whereby the main type face can overhang its body, allowing a second unit to be inserted when necessary, the range of characters was brought down to a little under 200.

The US Technical Cooperation Administration, which conducts the "Point Four" programme of technical assistance for underdeveloped areas, is paying all costs of the Burmese printing project, including the new equipment and the training of Burmese printers.



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## Coal and Iron in Asia

ACCORDING to the latest United Nations Survey\* the estimated coal reserves of the ECAFE region amount to 557,286 million metric tons. The breakdown of these reserves by countries is as follows:—

(All figures in million metric tons)

China ... ..	444,511	Pakistan ... ..	168
India ... ..	67,702	Malaya ... ..	61
Japan ... ..	20,948	Ceylon ... ..	51
Indo-China ... ..	20,000	Philippines ... ..	42
Indonesia ... ..	2,500	Sarawak ... ..	20
South Korea ... ..	1,001	North Borneo ... ..	17
Burma ... ..	265		

One of the most striking features of the coal deposits of the region is the predominance of lignite-sub-bituminous deposits in most of these countries. Only China, India, Indo-China and Korea have substantial reserves of higher rank coals, whereby China coal is predominantly high grade anthracite and bituminous. The Survey stresses the fact that the region as a whole possesses only limited reserves of coking coal. China's reserves of coking coal, semi-coking Fushun coal included, amounts to nearly 6,000 million tons, whereas almost all of Japan's coal is bituminous and not suitable for the manufacture of coke.

The region's reserves of iron ore are estimated at over 11,000 million metric tons, and the following table gives detailed information:

\* *Coal and Iron Ore Resources of Asia and the Far East* (Prepared by ECAFE. \$1.50. London: HMSO, 11s.)

Country	Proven	Probable	Possible	Total
Burma ... ..	—	—	0.5	0.5
Ceylon ... ..	—	2.4	4.0	6.4
China ... ..	—	—	4,167.8	4,167.8
Hong Kong ... ..	—	—	10.0	10.0
India ... ..	—	—	5,087.4	5,087.4
Indo-China ... ..	10.0	27.5	114.0	151.5
Indonesia ... ..	370.0	—	529.0	899.0
Japan ... ..	44.1	28.5	98.2	170.8
South Korea ... ..	—	—	19.7	19.7
Malaya ... ..	25.3	4.2	15.6	45.1
Pakistan ... ..	—	—	41.0	41.0
Philippines ... ..	—	—	1,018.6	1,018.6
Thailand ... ..	0.7	0.1	—	0.8
<b>Total ... ..</b>	<b>450.1</b>	<b>62.6</b>	<b>11,105.9</b>	<b>11,618.6</b>

(All figures in million metric tons)

In addition, iron ore deposits in North Borneo are known to exist, but no figures are available. The Survey says that the estimates in the table are very conservative, and that the actual reserves are much higher, especially as there are many known deposits, the reserve figures of which are as yet unknown. The Survey adds that—for geological reasons—the prospects of finding new deposits in Ceylon and in Malaya are "very bright," and says that the "reserve figures for India are those supplied by the Government of India, whereas most other sources give a much higher figure." In fact, India's Government Planning Commission stated in the First Five-Year Plan that "reserves of good quality iron ore (containing over 60 per cent iron) are estimated to be over 10,000 million tons."

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**U.K. Imports of Ores from S.E. Asia and the Pacific**

The following table shows the development of UK imports of non-ferrous metalliferous ores and scrap from South-East Asia and the Pacific:

Country of origin	1951	1952	1953
	(First six months of the year)		
	£	£	£
India ... ..	1,046,755	1,696,637	1,722,932
Malaya ... ..	120,648	242,237	85,483
Hong Kong ... ..	19,092	23,298	5,431
Burma ... ..	458,135	712,133	615,221
Australia ... ..	3,135,489	5,126,067	3,119,539

Among the imports from India manganese ore was the main item. During the first six months of 1953, the UK imported from India 85,501 tons of manganese ore valued at £1,352,188, as against 62,072 tons and 75,899 tons during the corresponding periods of 1951 and 1952 respectively.

United Kingdom imports of tungsten (including tungsten) ores from Burma were as follows:

	1951	1952	1953
	(First six months of the year)		
	tons	tons	tons
Quantity (tons) ... ..	232	415	499
Valued at ... ..	£310,501	574,826	535,715

UK imports of non-metalliferous and quarry products (including mica) were as follows:

	1951	1952	1953
	(First six months of the year)		
	£	£	£
India ... ..	1,249,850	1,637,056	901,825
Ceylon ... ..	129,627	90,103	74,732

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### Shipbuilding Notes

## HONG KONG PASSENGER FERRIES BUILT ON THE CLYDE

The fifth of the steel motor passenger ferries, the "Man Fung," built by Yarrow & Company, Glasgow, to the order of Dodwell & Co. Ltd., London, for the Hong Kong harbour services of the Hongkong and Yumati Ferry Co. Ltd., has been delivered

to Hong Kong recently, while the first four of the ferries are already in service.

The "Man Fung" was erected at the works of Yarrow Company, then dismantled and the pieces shipped to Hong Kong where the work of assembly and completion was carried out at Hongkong Shipyard, Shapshuipo. This ferry is another addition to the list of special type ships constructed by Yarrow & Co. for lake and river navigation in Asian waters.

The "Man Fung's" propelling machinery consists of a Crossley diesel engine to give a speed of 10½ knots. Yarrow Company have at present in hand the construction of a double-ended steel motor passenger ferry also for the Hong Kong harbour services.

### Marine Engines for India

Plenty & Son Ltd., Newbury, are building engines for two vessels—Twin Triple Expansion, 800 I.H.P. The engines will be fitted in tugs built by the Hooghly Docking & Engineering Co. Ltd. After the completion of this work, the company will be engaged with the manufacturing of two sets of engines for Twin Screw Tugs, 850 I.H.P. each, for the same Indian shipbuilding firm. The ultimate destination of all these ships is India.

During the last year Plenty & Son delivered equipment for the S.T. "Rana Partap" to the order of the Vizagapatam Harbour Board, the vessel having been built by Charles Hill & Co. Bristol, as well as main propulsive equipment of 1,200 I.H.P. for the Steam Tug "Amar" to the order of the Bombay Port Trust. The vessel being built by the Hooghly Docking and Engineering Co. Ltd., Calcutta.



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